00035563

THE
ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BOMBAY
Town Hall, Bombay.

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 18 July, 2018

NORTH WEST
TERRITORY
LABRADOR
NEWFOUNDLAND
GULF OF ST LAWRENCE
NEW
BRUNSWICK
ACADIA or
NOVA SCOTIA
MAINE
MASSACHUSETTS
Lake Michigan
Lake Huron
Lake Ontario
Lake Erie
ATLANTIC OCEAN
VALLEY OF THE
OHIO
LOUISIANA
MAP OF
NEW FRANCE
AND
NEW ENGLAND

THE

HISTORY OF CANADA

UNDER FRENCH RÉGIME.

1535–1763.

B·2599.

WITH MAPS, PLANS, AND ILLUSTRATIVE NOTES.

35563 ac

BY

H. H. MILES, LL.D., D.C.L.,

SECRETARY OF THE QUEBEC COUNCIL OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION.

Author of "The School History of Canada," "The Child's History of Canada," &c.

MONTREAL:

DAWSON BROTHERS.

1872.

Prod
971.01
Mil/His
35563

Entered according to Act of Parliament of Canada, by DAWSON BROTHERS, *in the Year One Thousand Eight Hundred and Seventy-two, in the Office of the Minister of Agriculture.*

PREFACE.

THE History of Canada embraces two great sections, of which the first—the subject of the work now presented to the public—is complete in itself, and covers a period of 229 years. It begins with the discovery of the coasts of New Brunswick and Gaspé in 1534, and of the St Lawrence in 1535, followed by an intercourse, maintained during the ensuing three quarters of a century, between the natives frequenting the great river, and the people of France through the agency of their traders and fur-companies, and resulting in the permanent occupation of the country by French colonists, troops, military and civil functionaries, and religious missionaries.

These, having their headquarters at Quebec, and their numbers augmented through the natural increase of the settlers, and the fresh arrivals from France from time to time (although, from first to last, the total number of immigrants furnished by direct importation from the mother country is thought not to have exceeded eight thousand souls, exclusive of the troops sent out in 1666, and subsequently during the seven years' war), gradually extended the settlement of the fertile lands along the banks of the St Lawrence and the Richelieu, and established numerous

outposts, westward and southward, towards the region of the great lakes, the Mississippi, and the river Ohio.

In this work, the chief incidents attendant upon the earliest, but, as it proved, abortive efforts, to give effect to the fondly-cherished idea of establishing a powerful French empire in the west, under the designation of New France, are duly chronicled; and then, in the order of time, the events are narrated which transpired in connection with the settlement, government, and social progress of the French Canadian colony, until, in the year 1763, it became a dependency of the Crown of Great Britain.

Of late, especially since the era of confederation of the British North American Provinces, there has been evidence of a growing demand for a more accurate and more abundant knowledge of the past and earlier career of the inhabitants of Canada of French origin. Even those who professedly devote their attention almost exclusively to the present condition, resources, and prospects of Canada, experience in an increased degree the need of ample and of reliable information respecting the days and people of New France, and the circumstances under which so large a part of the foundation of the existing state of things was laid; and this fact is, in a certain degree, illustrated by the favour with which the public, both in Canada and the United States, has received narratives of detached portions —published in large and costly editions.*

* Mention may here be made of the demand for copies of the "Jesuits' Relations," printed in French, in three thick volumes, and covering the period from 1615 to 1672, and of which portions are to be found translated into English in some American publications issued under State authority; also of the beautiful edition of Champlain's works, edited in

The objects kept in view in the preparation of this work, though it is of humbler pretensions than those just alluded to, may be briefly stated. Pains have been taken to invest it with the characteristics most essential towards rendering it useful to the lover and student of history, and, at the same time, acceptable to the general reader. As qualities conducive to the attainment of these ends, accuracy, completeness, and impartiality in the statement of facts, have claimed the writer's first attention; while, as scarcely secondary to these, the object of rendering the work attractive to the general reader has not been lost sight of, by presenting the details in a judicious order, within moderate compass, and with numerous accompanying *footnotes*, maps, and plans, designed to illustrate the text, and to aid in sustaining the reader's interest and intelligent appreciation of the transactions recorded. The authorities consulted have been, for the most part, mentioned by name in the text or the footnotes, and generally, when cited, their own words have been given. In regard to the more important facts and controverted points, recourse has been had, whenever this was practicable, to the original sources, in order to avoid, as much as possible, the acceptance of historical statements of a grave nature at second-hand. The recent appearance of the "Archives of Nova Scotia,"* and the recovery of certain

four large volumes by the French historian M. Laverdière; of Mr Shea's "Charlevoix" in English; and the translation of Captain Pouchot's "Memoirs of the Seven Years' War," published in Boston, at a cost of twenty-five dollars. Several other examples might be added to this list.

* Edited by Dr Akins, Commissioner of Records at Halifax, being the first printed portion of a selection most judiciously made from the con-

documents, including the Journal of General Murray, from the English Record Offices, have fortunately occurred in season to admit of introducing in the Appendix a considerable amount of highly interesting and authentic information, which has not hitherto been published in any history of Canada.

Respecting the value to the student of history, the statesman, the lawyer, and the general reader, of a familiarity with the history of Canada under the French régime, it is perhaps sufficient to have already alluded to the need of it in enabling any one to rightly apprehend the state of things existing in Canada at this day. A recent historian justly observes in the preface to his work, "To enable us to judge accurately of the present, and regard our national future with confidence, a correct acquaintance with the past is an absolute necessity. . . . It is true that many books have been published which supply detached portions of Canadian history, that several excellent statistical works have been compiled from time to time, and that much useful information may be gleaned from the writings of travellers and residents; but it is equally true that these are not accessible to the general reader."

But, if it were not so needful as it is, on other grounds,

tents of two hundred volumes of documents collected and arranged by him from among the archives of Nova Scotia. The recovery of these valuable papers has been due in a great measure to the action of the Hon. Joseph Howe, of Nova Scotia, who, with an enlightened zeal, for which he is entitled to the grateful acknowledgments of the lovers of Canadian and North American history, prosecuted those objects, and induced the Nova Scotian Legislature to furnish the means necessary for rescuing the documents from oblivion, and for placing them in a condition to be conveniently accessible in future.

to take particular cognizance of the events which transpired, and of the laws, customs, and institutions established, while Canada was a French colony, it may be affirmed that to ignore the record of these would be to exclude from the whole history of this Dominion a narrative which is full of interest and instruction, "of stirring incidents and realities — in these respects rivalling the histories of older communities,—while it differs from most of them in not having its earlier chapters occupied with myths and fabulous traditions." In truth, it may be added, without implying disrespect towards those who have written Canadian history in the English language, that their record of the French régime has been too brief, and, consequently, too often characterised by the summary assertion of facts whose authenticity, from their interest and importance, deserves to be made more apparent; while national and other sources of prejudiced views have imparted to the stream of history, in its passage through their hands, a tone and colouring adverse to the claims of strict historical impartiality. This procedure has been productive of results more injurious, perhaps, in Canada, than it could have been in the case of any other country inhabited by people of a more homogeneous character as respects national origin, language, customs, and creed.

In conclusion, the History of Canada under the French régime brings under the reader's notice a goodly list of distinguished characters—of men whose qualifications were such as would have rendered them conspicuous objects of admiration in any country where virtue, wisdom, and heroic deeds might command respect or excite imitation. On

this point an eminent Canadian orator and statesman remarked—"No province of any ancient or modern power—not even Gaul, when it was a province of Rome,—has had nobler imperial names interwoven with its local events. Under the French kings, Canada was the theatre of action for a whole series of men of first-rate reputation,—men eminent for their energy, their fortitude, their courage, and their accomplishments, for all that constitutes and adorns civil and military reputation."

QUEBEC, *October* 1871.

NOTE.—The author acknowledges, with thanks, the kind assistance he has received, while preparing this work, from private friends and from gentlemen occupying official positions, to whom he has been indebted for advice and for access to scarce books and documents. To Mr E. T. Fletcher, draughtsman and surveyor of the Canada Crown Lands Office, his acknowledgments are especially due for aid in connection with several of the maps; and to Mr David Craig, son of the earliest British settler in the vicinity of Ste Foye, for interesting particulars concerning the operations of General De Levis in April 1760.

The author also takes this opportunity of stating that the sequel to this history, under the title of "Canada under British Rule, from 1763 to 1867," is in course of preparation, and that he will be thankful for the privilege of access to original documents of historical interest, relating to the period named, which it may be in the power of any to favour him with.

CONTENTS.

PAGE

Introduction, ... xvii-xxvi

CHAPTER I.

Cartier's First Voyage, ... 1-8

CHAPTER II.

Cartier's Second Voyage—The River St Lawrence—Indian Towns, Stadacona, Hochelaga — Cartier Winters in Canada, ... 8-16

CHAPTER III.

Cartier's Third Voyage—Roberval—Alleged Fourth Voyage of Cartier, ... 17-23

CHAPTER IV.

The Condition of France—Expedition of the Marquis de la Roche—The Convicts on Sable Island—The Peltry Trade, ... 24-30

CHAPTER V.

M. Pontegravé and Captain Chauvin—M. de Chates—M. de Monts—Champlain, ... 30-38

CHAPTER VI.

Champlain's Three Expeditions against the Iroquois—Discovery of the Course of the River Richelieu, of Lake Champlain, and Lake George—Battle with the Iroquois, and Barbarous Treatment of Prisoners—Second Expedition, and Battle with the Iroquois—Establishment of Trading Station near Sault St Louis, and Conferences with the Indians—Affairs of the Company—Ascent of the Rapids, and Visit to the Ottawa Region—Champlain's Third Expedition against the Iroquois—Repulse and Retreat of the Hurons, ... 38-54

CHAPTER VII.

PAGE

Champlain's Sojourn in the Huron Country—Important Views entertained in the Colony Relative to its Wants—Arrival of the First Emigrant Family—Perilous Condition of the Colony during Champlain's Absence—Indian Conspiracy—Duc de Montmorency Viceroy—Champlain's Powers extended—Arrival of Madame Champlain—Repairs and Improvements at Quebec—Fort St Louis commenced—Causes of anxiety—Rival Companies and difficulties—Services of Le Caron and Sagard—Treaty of Peace—Slow Progress of the Colony—Religious Deputies to France—Departure of Madame Champlain—Emery de Caën, Commandant at Quebec, ... 54-65

CHAPTER VIII.

Complaints against the Company—Jesuit Missionaries sent out—Champlain's New Commission—Scarcity at Quebec—Surrender to Sir David Kirkt, ... 65-75

CHAPTER IX.

The Company of "The Hundred Associates"—Failure of the Company's First Undertakings—Recovery of New France, and Re-occupation of Quebec by the French—State of that Place and the Country—Great Gathering of Indians at Quebec—The Liquor Traffic—"Jesuits' Relations," : 75-82

CHAPTER X.

Last Days of Champlain—Death and Funeral—His Character and Services—Progress and State of the Colony up to the Time of Champlain's Decease—Other European Colonies, 83-102

CHAPTER XI.

Company of Associates fails to fulfil its Engagements—Champlain's Successors—Iroquois Incursions and Audacity—Establishments at Sillery and Quebec—Settlement of the Island of Montreal—Fortifications—Early Trials and Disasters of the Settlers—Gallant Conduct of Maisonneuve—General Account of the Progress of Montreal up to the Year 1663—Fate of Maisonneuve—Incursions of the Iroquois—Their Designs against the Colony—Destruction of the Huron Nation—Heroism of Dollard and his Companions, ... 102-118

CHAPTER XII.

PAGE

Particulars respecting the Governors from 1636-1663—Montmagny—D'Aillebout—Jean and Charles de Lauson—D'Argenson — D'Avaugour — Ecclesiastical Affairs — M. Lavel—Liquor Traffic—Deplorable State of the Colony, 119-139

CHAPTER XIII.

Louis XIV. Decides upon Constituting Canada a "Royal Government"—Composition of the Supreme Council—Its Powers and Defects—List of Governors, Bishops, and Royal Intendants from 1663 to 1760, . . . 140-144

CHAPTER XIV.

Population of Canada when the Royal Government was Established—General Character of the Inhabitants—Remarkable Incidents of 1663—Celestial Phenomena—Earthquakes — Moral Effects Produced by the Earthquakes, ... 145-150

CHAPTER XV.

Dissensions in the Supreme Council—Arbitrary Proceedings—Complaints to the King—De Tracy, Viceroy—Talon, Intendant—Death of De Mesy—The Carignan Regiment—Military Preparations—Forts on the Richelieu—First Expedition against the Iroquois, under M. de Courcelle—Second Expedition against the Iroquois, under M. de Tracy and M. de Courcelle—Consequences of the Offensive Operations against the Iroquois — Note on the Iroquois appended to this Chapter, . . . 151-168

CHAPTER XVI.

Internal Affairs of the Colony—Commerce—The West Indian Company — Agriculture — Introduction of the Feudal System—Departure of De Tracy—Note on the English Colonies, ... 169-172

CHAPTER XVII.

The Governor, De Courcelle—Causes of Trouble among the Indian Tribes of the West—The Governor's Expedition to the North Shore of Lake Ontario—Recall of De Courcelle—Character of De Courcelle—Death of Madame de la Peltrie and of Marie de l'Incarnation—Their Characters—Talon—Colbert, ... 173-182

CHAPTER XVIII.

PAGE

Count Frontenac, Governor—Dissensions—Arbitrary Proceedings of the Governor—Appeal to the Court of France—Frontenac's Ability—Fort Frontenac—La Salle—Marquette and Joliet—Discovery of the Mississippi—Negotiations with the Iroquois—La Salle's Proceedings—The Coureurs des Bois—Dissensions Continued—Recall of the Governor and Intendant—Population of the Colony—Agricultural Resources—Exports—Ecclesiastical Affairs—Laval, First Bishop of Quebec, and the Recollets—La Salle, ... 183-193

CHAPTER XIX.

Frontenac's Successors, M. de la Barre and M. de Denonville—De la Barre's Abortive Expedition against the Iroquois—His Recall—Bishop Laval's Successor, M. de St Vallier—The English Intrigues with the Iroquois—Denonville's Expedition against the Senecas—Fort Niagara built—Results of the War with the Senecas—A Doubtful Peace concluded—Disastrous Condition of the Colony—Massacre of Lachine—Plans of the Governor and M. de Calliere—Designs of the English Colonists—Ruin of the French Colony Imminent—Recall of Denonville, and Re-appointment of Frontenac, ... 194–205

CHAPTER XX.

Frontenac's Activity and Measures for the Relief of the Colony—Fort Frontenac—Indian Cruelties on both Sides—Plans of M. de Calliere—Frontenac's Efforts to Detach and Conciliate the Iroquois—Three Invasions of the Territory of the English Colonists Organised by the Governor—Details and Results—Expedition to Michilimakinac—Continued Attacks of the Iroquois—Frontenac and the Indians at Montreal—Advance of a Naval Force to Assault Quebec—Frontenac's Energetic Measures of Defence—Signal Defeat of the Invaders before Quebec—D'Iberville, ... 206–220

CHAPTER XXI.

Continuation of Warfare by the Indians—Suspicious Conduct of the Converted Iroquois—Unchristian Conduct of Colonists, both French and English, with respect to the Indians—Numerous Minor Conflicts between the French

PAGE

and the Iroquois—Threatened New Invasion by an English Fleet Prepared for—Admiral Wheeler's Abortive Expedition—Effects of French Privateering—Nicholas Perrot—D'Iberville—Causes of Quarrel between the English and French Colonists—Fort Frontenac Reoccupied—The Iroquois—Frontenac's Preparations for a War of Extermination against the Cantons—The Expedition and Results—Instructions to the Governor Relative to the Conquest of New England—M. de Nesmond—Treaty of Ryswick—Correspondence between Lord Bellamont and Count Frontenac—Views of the Iroquois—Death and Character of Frontenac, ... 221–244

CHAPTER XXII.

M. de Calliere, Governor—His Policy a Continuation of Frontenac's—Aims at a General Pacification of the Indian Tribes—Mode of Procedure to bring about Peace—Great Gathering of Indians at Montreal—Death of Kondiaronk—Renewal of War between England and France—Preparations for Defence of the Colony—Death of Calliere—State of the Country, ... 244–253

CHAPTER XXIII.

M. de Vaudreuil, Governor—His Character and Administration—Chief Incidents—Succeeded by the Marquis de Beauharnois—State and Resources of the Colony under the Two Preceding Governors—Brief Administrations of La Galisoniere, La Jonquiere, and the Marquis Duquesne—Condition and Relative Resources of Canada and the New England Colonies—Accession of the Second Marquis de Vaudreuil—State of the Country—Its Principal Stations and Outposts—The Chief Officials of the Colony—Commencement of the Seven Years' War, . . 254–291

CHAPTER XXIV.

Fortified Posts—Preparations During the Winter of 1754—Reinforcements for the Colonies—M. de Vaudreuil, Governor—English Colonists Plan Four Expeditions—Shirley's Abortive Expedition—Operations in Acadia—Deplorable Events and Deportation of Acadians—General Braddock's Expedition—Battle of La Belle Riviere—Generals Lyman and Johnson—Forts Lydius and George—Defeat of Diskau at Lake George—Occupation of Carillon or Ticonderoga—Affairs in Canada—Bigot—

PAGE

Scarcity and Mismanagement—Preparations by the English Colonists for 1756—General Abercrombie's Movements—Reinforcements from France—General Montcalm and his Principal Officers—Operations and Preparations at Lake Champlain and Frontenac—Montcalm's Victory at Oswego, ... 292–321

CHAPTER XXV.

Change of Plans of Campaign by the English Colonists—Louisbourg—Montcalm's Expedition against Fort George—Siege and Capture of Fort George—Violation of the Articles of Capitulation by the Indians—Massacre—Letters of Bougainville, Montcalm, and Vaudreuil—Famine in Canada—Gambling at Quebec and Montreal, 321–332

CHAPTER XXVI.

Campaign of 1758, ... 332–342

CHAPTER XXVII.

State and Prospects of the Colony more Critical at the Close of 1758 than ever before—Causes Enumerated—Virtual Abandonment of the Colony by the Mother Country—Absence of Harmony among Principal Officials and between the different Branches of the Public Service—Mismanagement by Bigot and his Accomplices—Bad Harvests, Excessive Prices, and Famine—Sentiments of Montcalm and his Officers—Census and Effective Force of the Colony—General Plan of Defence, . . . 342–357

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Plans of the English for the Campaign of 1759—Operations of General Amherst on Lake Champlain—Expedition against Niagara—Attempt to Relieve Fort Niagara—Capture of Niagara and French Forts South of Lake Erie—Forces of Amherst and Sir William Johnson unable to take part in the Operations at Quebec, ... 358–363

CHAPTER XXIX.

Strength of the English Armament—Arrival off Quebec—Line of Defence—Wolfe's Manifesto—Positions taken up—Eminent Persons Present at the Siege of Quebec—French Fireships—Bombardment of the City—Battle of Beauport Flats, ... 363–408

CHAPTER XXX.

PAGE

The Battle of the Plains of Abraham—Death of General Wolfe—Death of Montcalm—Proceedings of the British after the Battle—Proceedings of Governor Vaudreuil and Bigot—De Ramezay Surrenders the City—Strength of the British under Murray—Honours to Wolfe and Montcalm—Note to the Chapter, ... 408–426

CHAPTER XXXI.

Projects of De Levis—Winter of 1759–60—Sufferings of the Garrison at Quebec from Dearth of Fuel and Cold—General Murray's Policy towards the Inhabitants—Precautions against Surprise—Hostilities during the Winter—Sickness and Mortality in the Garrison—De Levis Advances against the English—The Inhabitants of the City Ordered to Depart—Murray Recalls his Outposts, and Marches to Ste Foye—Battle of Ste Foye, and Defeat of Murray—Siege of Quebec—Arrival of the English Fleet—Retreat of De Levis—Plans of the Commander-in-Chief, ... 426–461

CHAPTER XXXII.

Colonel Haviland's Corps Moves down the Richelieu—General Murray Advances up the St Lawrence—General Amherst's Advance—Capture of Fort Levis and Desertion of the Indians—Passage of the Rapids—the French Forces Surrounded at Montreal—Capitulation of Montreal—Conclusion—Relics of the French Forces Transported to France—End of the French Régime—Military Occupation of Canada—Treaty of Peace in 1763, . 462–477

APPENDIX.

	PAGE
I. Fort Necesssity, 1754,	479
II. General Braddock, 1755,	481
III. The Acadians, 1755,	482
IV. Gambling at Quebec and Montreal, 1759,	486
V. General Amherst, 1759,	487
VI. Campaign of 1759,	488
VII. Expedition against Quebec, 1759,	491
VIII. Strength of General Murray's Garrison at Quebec, 1759–1760,	494
IX. Treatment of the Inhabitants according to the Articles of Capitulation of October 1759,	495
X. Governor de Vaudreuil's Circular, 1759-60,	497
XI. The Battle of Ste Foye, 1760,	498
XII. Governor de Vaudreuil's Circular, 1760,	500
XIII. General Murray, 1760,	500
XIV. Fort Jacques Cartier, 1760,	501
XV. The Rapids of the St Lawrence, 1760,	501
XVI. The Capitulation of Montreal, September 8, 1760,	502
XVII. The Treaty of Paris, February 10, 1763,	508
XVIII. The Capitulation of Montreal, 1760,	509
XIX. General Orders and Dispatch of General Amherst, 1760,	510
XX. William Pitt, 1760,	511

MAPS.

Map of New France and New England—*to face title-page.*
Map showing the Military Routes into Canada, . *to face page* 293
Plan of Montreal in 1759, ... „ 296
Plan of Quebec in 1759. . . . . „ 363
Map to illustrate the Siege of Quebec, 1759, . . . „ 373
Map of the Vicinity of Quebec, to illustrate the Operations of De Levis and Murray, 1759-60, ... *to face page* 427

INTRODUCTION.

MARITIME DISCOVERIES OF THE PORTUGUESE IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY—DISCOVERIES IN THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE BY COLUMBUS, SIR JOHN AND SEBASTIAN CABOT, VERRAZZANI—EARLY FISHERIES OF NEWFOUNDLAND—DISCOVERY OF CANADA—ABORIGINES.

BEFORE the close of the fifteenth century, the example of the Portuguese excited among the other maritime nations of Europe a great spirit for adventure and discovery by sea. That people had undertaken many naval expeditions between the years 1410 and 1490, by means of which geographical knowledge had been increased, followed by the opening up of additional opportunities for the extension of commerce. *

Previously to this, during the *Middle Ages*, trade in the rich products of the East was conducted through overland routes, by way of *Persia* and *Arabia*, across the *Persian Gulf* and *Red Sea*, by *Ormuz* and *Aden*, *Aleppo*,

* Amongst the principal discoveries alluded to were,—*Madeira* in 1419; *Cape Boiador*, the *Azores*, *Cape Verd* and adjacent islands, and *Sierra Leone* between the years 1430 and 1450; *Congo* in 1484; then the important discovery of *Cape Tempest*, afterwards named *Cape of Good Hope*, by Bartholomew Diaz in 1486. This led eventually, in the year 1498, to the doubling of that cape by *Vasco de Gama*, who, after passing round the south of Africa, reached the coast of *Malabar* in the *East Indies*.

Damascus, and the port of *Beyrout*, and by means of mercantile depôts established in Egypt. The ordinary track of Oriental commerce was, in those days, beset by dangers and difficulties, by which the cost of merchandise was heightened,—so that it seemed very important to be enabled to reach "China and the Indies" by cheaper or easier modes of access.

The naval expeditions of the Portuguese, however, produced other results, which were perhaps of still greater value than trade with the negroes of Africa, or a proof that there was a way to the "Indies" round the southernmost point of that continent. Service in their ships proved to be, at that period, the best school of training in the arts of navigation. Although Portugal was one of the smallest of European kingdoms, yet the fame of her discoveries attracted seamen and adventurers from other countries in the hope of obtaining employment and riches. Navigators from England and France, and especially from Italy, whose previous experience had been limited to mere coasting voyages, were thus enabled to gain the skill and courage required for bolder undertakings upon the ocean. Amongst these were *Christopher Columbus*, of Genoa, *Sir John Cabot*, of Venice, *Verrazzani*, of Florence, *Cortereal* and *Amerigo Vespucci*, by whom, after serving in Portuguese ships in the East, great enterprises were conducted across the Atlantic into the Western Hemisphere.

Christopher Columbus, by the results of his experience and his studies in geography and astronomy, became convinced that it was possible to reach "the Indies" by navigating the Atlantic *westward* from Europe. After encountering many obstacles, being at length furnished by the Court of Spain with the means of equipping two small vessels, he sailed from Palos on August 3, 1492, and, pursuing a westerly course for

BORN 1435. DIED 1506.

A.D. 1492.

seventy days, made the first discovery of land in the New World.

John Cabot and his son Sebastian, commissioned by King Henry VII. of England, discovered Newfoundland and Labrador, and explored the American coast more than 1500 miles southward to lat. 36°. A.D. 1497. A.D. 1498.

Amerigo Vespucci made four voyages to the Western Hemisphere, in course of which he explored the coast of Brazil, and other portions of the mainland. He also constructed rude maps, and wrote a narrative of his voyages, in which he set up the claim of being the first to discover the continent. By this time Columbus was dead, and as Amerigo Vespucci's pretensions seem to have passed uncontradicted, in the end, the New World was named, after him, *America*. A.D. 1500. A.D. 1507.

Verrazzani, commissioned by the court of France, explored the coast of Carolina, and thence northward to Nova Scotia. In behalf of the king by whom he was employed, he claimed sovereignty over the whole region, and gave to it the name of *New France*. A.D. 1524.

During most of the time occupied by the voyages and explorations of the great sea captains, whose names have been mentioned, vessels belonging to the Spaniards, Portuguese, French, English, and Dutch, visited the shores of Newfoundland for the purpose of prosecuting the fisheries. These were first established by the Portuguese in 1500, in consequence of information brought by Cortereal, one of their navigators, respecting the great abundance of codfish found on the *Banks*. As early as 1517 there were, it is said, more than fifty vessels employed in that pursuit. Occasionally, through accident or otherwise, the commanders and crews of fishing vessels would extend their voyages to the neighbouring shores of Labrador, and even of Nova Scotia, and thus be instrumental in increasing the

knowledge of those parts of the North American continent. Amongst the men who became inured to Atlantic navigation, through making passages to and fro in fishing vessels, was *Jacques Cartier*, afterwards renowned as the discoverer of Canada.

Some years after the voyage of Verrazzani, the French court resolved to take advantage of the claims which had been set up over the western regions named, as has been stated, by him, New France. Accordingly, in 1534 and 1535, other expeditions were dispatched from France, under Jacques Cartier, which resulted in the discovery of the great river St Lawrence; the banks of which, and adjacent territories, now constitute the country whose history is narrated in the following pages.

A.D. 1534.

Before entering upon that history, it seems proper to furnish some preliminary information about the people styled "*Indians*," of whom very frequent mention will be made.

Columbus, and the early navigators by whom he was succeeded, supposed that the lands which they discovered were parts of Asia or of the "*Indies*." Accordingly, they gave to the natives the name of "*Indians*." The geographical mistake began to be found out in the year 1517, when Vasco Nunez made his way across a part of the American continent, and beheld the Pacific Ocean stretched beyond it. But by this time the appellation given to the natives had become established, so that it has been retained in use to the present day.

In some respects, the uncivilised inhabitants of America appeared to their first European visitors to resemble Asiatics. Their dusky complexion, their paganism, and some of their habits, strengthened the notion that they belonged to the Mongol tribes of Asia.

Exclusive of those found inhabiting the islands of the

Gulf of Mexico, the native inhabitants of North America have been estimated not to have exceeded in number 200,000 souls. They required extensive hunting grounds, supporting themselves chiefly by the chase and by fishing. Roaming about, mostly in detached bodies or *tribes*, they were spread throughout the vast region lying between the Atlantic and the Rocky Mountains, and from the shores of the Gulf of Mexico to the Laurentian hills, north of the river St Lawrence; and also beyond these, in Labrador, and the territory bordering on Hudson's Bay.

About eight distinct languages or dialects were spoken amongst them, in consequence of which they have been classified as having sprung originally from a like number of distinct families. But of these only three or four had hunting grounds in the region styled New France, of which that since called Canada formed a part. Under various names, subordinate tribes of the three or four principal families referred to were dispersed through the valleys and forests, and along the margins of the rivers and lakes, all the way from the Gulf of St Lawrence to the country beyond the western shores of Lake Michigan.

A brief summary statement may be made to include all that it is necessary to say, by way of introduction to the history of Canada, relative to the names and hunting grounds of the different tribes; for it would be useless to attempt to set forth accurately the names of all and their boundaries, since these and other particulars are far from having been satisfactorily settled.

In that part of New France now called Nova Scotia, in Gaspé, and south of the St Lawrence, the Indians were offshoots of the great Algonquin stock, including those named *Micmacs* or *Souriquois, Etchemins, Abenaquis*, and *Sokokis*, to the number of about 4000 in all. Farther inland, and occupying chiefly the north bank of the St

Lawrence, were the *Montagnais* of Saguenay and Lake St John, having for neighbours to the north the *Esquimaux* of Labrador and the regions bordering on Hudson's Bay. In the valley of the River St Maurice, and occupying the north bank of the St Lawrence, in the vicinity of the site of Three Rivers, were the *Bull-heads* or Attikamegues. Next to these, extending westwards along the St Lawrence and on the banks of the Ottawa, were the Algonquins proper, including a tribe named *Nipissings*, around the lake of that name. The Ottawas and Chippewas were near the outlet of Lake Superior, to the south of which lay the *Foxes*, the *Sacs*, the *Menomonees*, the *Mascoutens*, and *Kikapoos*.

The *Hurons*—a term originally used by the French as a nickname—whose proper name was *Wendats* or *Wyandots*, numbering, it is believed, not less than 30,000, occupied settlements in the peninsula adjacent to *Lake Simcoe* and *Georgian Bay*, having for neighbours, on the south-west, the *Tionontates* or *Petuns*. Next to these latter, to the south, and extending eastward as far as or beyond the Falls of Niagara, were a great many kindred tribes, collectively named the *Neutral Nation*, on account of their abstaining from taking any part in the wars of their neighbours, and preserving terms of amity with them all. The whole of the above-named tribes, viz., the *Micmacs* or *Souriquois*, *Etchemins*, *Abenaquis*, *Sokokis*, *Montagnais*, *Bull-heads* or *Attikamegues*, *Algonquins*, *Nipissings*, *Ottawas*, *Chippewas*, *Foxes*, *Sacs*, *Menomonees*, *Mascoutens*, *Kikapoos*, *Hurons* or *Wyandots*, *Tionontates* or *Petuns*, together with some other minor tribes south of Lake Erie, and extending to the valleys of the Ohio and the Mississippi, are considered as belonging to, or derived from, the great *Algonquin* or *Algic* stock.

On the south of the St Lawrence, west of the river Riche-

lieu, and extending southward and westward along the shores of Lake Ontario, were the principal settlements and hunting grounds of the *Iroquois*—sometimes called *Huron-Iroquois*—the most famous of all the tribes of Indians concerned in the history of Canada and New England. They consisted of five considerable tribes: the *Mohawks*, the *Oneidas*, the *Onondagas*, the *Cayugas*, and the *Senecas*, to whom were joined, in the year 1712, the *Tuscaroras* from Carolina. They formed the celebrated league or confederacy of "*Five Nations*," having their headquarters in the north-eastern parts of the State of New York. Such were the warlike spirit, ferocity, and comparative superiority of the Iroquois Indians, that, previously to the times when Europeans established settlements in Canada and New England, they had made the power of their league felt and dreaded to a great distance amongst the other savage tribes. They made hostile incursions into distant hunting grounds, as far as 1500 miles south of the St Lawrence, and westward beyond the river Mississippi. Before the coming of the French, intense enmity and increasing warfare had subsisted between the Iroquois and the Indians of Canada—more especially the Hurons, Algonquins, and Abenaquis, with whom, it will be seen, the French took part against the Iroquois.

The Indians named above as the *aborigines* of Canada and New England were all savages and heathens. In some cases, as amongst the Hurons and the Iroquois, there did exist the knowledge and forethought required for planting *maize*, gathering it when ripe, and storing it away in caves for future use. But their methods of agriculture were of the simplest and rudest kind. The women only performed the work, since the men esteemed that, as well as all other manual labour not connected with war or the chase, as degrading to warriors. They possessed

no written language. Yet, as spoken, their dialects were perfect enough to admit of the practice of oratory among themselves, and also to become subjects of regular study to Europeans. As they were dependent upon oral tradition, almost exclusively, for their knowledge of past events, this was found to be of the most limited and imperfect description with respect to occurrences extending backwards beyond the period of a single generation. They had not, like the ancient Mexicans and Peruvians, made any progress in methods of procuring and using metals, nor in the construction of permanent habitations, nor in the arts of life generally.

They entertained some confused notions of belief in the existence of a Supreme Being, and in a future state. This state, to the meritorious Indian,—one who had been a brave warrior, and had contemned hardship and bodily suffering during his lifetime,—was to be a scene of perpetual freedom from hunger and from pain, in happy hunting grounds. They were also credulous and superstitious, believers in witchcraft, and placing implicit confidence in omens and dreams, so that to these latter recourse was usually had before undertaking any enterprise of importance.*

In warfare they were remarkable for the exercise of cunning and ferocity, employing treachery whenever occasion offered, and pitilessly exterminating their conquered foes. To shrink from resenting an injury, to be slow in following the impulses of a vindictive spirit, to quail in presence of an enemy or under any amount of torture that

* Shea, in his "American Catholic Missions," p. 25, says of the Indians generally: "Although they all recognised one Supreme Being, nowhere did they address him in prayer. . . . Pure unmixed demon-worship prevailed throughout the length and breadth of the land. With demons, the Indian, in his theology, peopled the forest, the lake, and the mountain—all nature, animate and inanimate; these alone he addressed and sought to propitiate, reckless of his account to the Great Spirit."

could be inflicted, were regarded as unpardonable defects,—injurious to the character even of their women.

According to a French writer, Charlevoix, who collected all accessible information relative to the Indians throughout North America, a general similarity of disposition, habits, and external appearance pervaded all the tribes. "To see one," he says, "is to see all." All had the same reddish or *coppery* complexion, the same form of visage, with eyes bright and deeply set, their locks long and coarse, and their chins beardless, owing to the universal custom of pulling out the hairs from their faces. There was the same correspondence in their implements of war, consisting of *bows and arrows, tomahawks, scalping-knives,* and frequently *shields.* In their modes of conducting intercourse with each other and with strangers, in their rites and ceremonies, in their ways of dealing with enemies, friends, and prisoners, as well as in their belief and ideas of right and wrong, the Indians, from the shores of the Gulf of Mexico to the banks of the St Lawrence, were virtually one people.*

It is only necessary to add, in this place, that the conversion of the Indians to Christianity was, throughout, a primary object with the French in all their plans for settling the country.†

* "In form, in manners, and in habits, the Indian tribes presented an almost uniform appearance: language formed the great distinctive mark to the European, though the absence of a feather or a line of paint disclosed to the native the tribe of the wanderer whom he met."—SHEA.

† The reader will be interested in learning some particulars of the modern Canadian Indians—that is, of those who now (1871) live under the government of the Dominion of Canada.

The total Indian population of the four Provinces appears to be over 25,000, not including those of Labrador, Hudson Bay Company's Territories, &c. They are distributed as follows:—

In Ontario, on the Grand River, Bay of Quinté, River Thames, about 4000 *Iroquois;* about 6000 *Chippewas,* including some *Ottawas* and *Ponte*

wattonies at Lakes Superior, Huron, St Clair, and other parts; 700 *Mississagas* at Rice Lake, the Scugog, &c.; and 2500 *Manitoulin Island* Indians, *Ojibways* and remnants of other tribes—amounting to upwards of 13,000.

In Quebec (Lower Canada), we have of *Iroquois*, about 2700 at Caughnawaga, St Regis, and Lake of Two Mountains; of *Algonquins* and *Nipissings*, &c., 500; *Abenaquis*, of St Francis and Becancour, 250; *Hurons* of Lorette, 300; *Micmacs*, *Montagnais*, &c., 1100; in the regions of the Lower St Lawrence, about 3000 styled *Naskapees*, with scattered members of various tribes. The total for the Province of Quebec is thus not far from 9000. In Nova Scotia, chiefly of *Micmacs*, there are 2000, and at the Indian Village, Northumberland, Kent, and other parts of New Brunswick, a like number.

The Iroquois of Upper Canada (Ontario) had lands assigned them in 1785, when they migrated from the United States under their great chief Joseph Brandt, who had supported the royal cause during the war which followed the rebellion of the English colonies. Of these lands, originally 1200 square miles, their descendants now hold only an inconsiderable portion.

The Iroquois of Lower Canada (Quebec) are descendants of those whom the French missionaries formerly converted to Christianity, and who passed from their native cantons, south of Lake Ontario, to settlements provided for them near the St Lawrence.

The Iroquois, and many of the other tribes of Canadian Indians, now gain a livelihood partly by means of agriculture and by carrying on various petty manufactures—basketmaking, ornaments, &c., partly by having recourse to their ancient pursuits of hunting and fishing.

Through a Department of State (Indian Affairs) aid is distributed amongst the tribes, for procuring seed, grain, implements, building of schoolhouses, teachers, medical services, pensions to the old, infirm, and destitute, and for other objects.

In the schools for Indian children, of whom more boys than girls attend, the total number of scholars for Ontario and Quebec is short of 2000, with about fifty paid teachers. Very few schools for Indians have yet been opened in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick.

THE

HISTORY OF CANADA

UNDER FRENCH RÉGIME.

CHAPTER I.

CARTIER'S FIRST VOYAGE.

1. CANADA was discovered in the year 1534, by *Jacques Cartier* (or Quartier), a mariner belonging to the small French seaport *St Malo*. He was a man in whom were combined the qualities of prudence, industry, skill, perseverance, courage, and a deep sense of religion. Commissioned by the King of France, Francis I., he conducted three successive expeditions across the Atlantic, for the purpose of prosecuting discovery in the Western Hemisphere; and it is well understood that he had previously gained experience in seamanship on board fishing vessels trading between Europe and the Banks of Newfoundland. A.D. 1534.

He was selected and recommended to the King for appointment as one who might be expected to realise, for the benefit of France, some of the discoveries of his predecessor, Verrazzani, which had been attended with no

substantial result, since this navigator and his companions had scarcely done more than view, from a distance, the coasts of the extensive regions to which the name of *New France* had been given. It was also expected of Cartier that, through his endeavours, valuable lands would be taken possession of in the King's name, and that places suitable for settlement, and stations for carrying on traffic, would be established. Moreover, it was hoped that the precious metals would be procured in those parts, and that a passage onwards to China (Cathay) and the East Indies would be found out. And, finally, the ambitious sovereign of France was induced to believe that, in spite of the pretensions of Portugal and Spain,* he might make good his own claim to a share in transatlantic territories.

With such objects in view, Jacques Cartier set sail from St Malo, on Monday, the 20th of April 1534.† His command consisted of two small vessels, with crews amounting to about one hundred and twenty men, and provisioned for four or five months.

2. On the 10th of May the little squadron arrived off Cape Bonavista, Newfoundland; but, as the ice and snow of the previous winter had not yet disappeared, the vessels were laid up for ten days in a harbour near by, named *St Catherine's*. From this, on the 21st, they sailed northward to an island north-east of Cape Bonavista, situated about forty miles from the mainland, which had been called by

* The courts of Spain and Portugal had protested against any fresh expedition from France to the west, alleging that, by right of prior discovery, as well as the Pope's grant of all the western regions to themselves, the French could not go there without invading their privileges. Francis, on the other hand, treated these pretensions with derision, observing sarcastically, that he would "like to see the clause in old Father Adam's will by which an inheritance so vast was bequeathed to his brothers of Spain and Portugal."

† The dates in this, and subsequent pages, are in accordance with the "*old style*" of reckoning.

the Portuguese the "*Isle of Birds.*" Here were found several species of birds which, it appears, frequented the island at that season of the year in prodigious numbers, so that, according to Cartier's own narrative, the crews had no difficulty in capturing enough of them, both for their immediate use and to fill eight or ten large barrels (*pippes*) for future consumption. Bears and foxes are described as passing from the mainland, in order to feed upon the birds as well as their eggs and young.

From the Isle of Birds the ships proceeded northward and westward, until they came to the Straits of Belleisle, when they were detained by foul weather, and by ice, in a harbour, from the 27th of May until the 9th of June. The ensuing fifteen days were spent in exploring the coast of Labrador as far as *Blanc Sablon* and the western coast of Newfoundland. For the most part these regions, including contiguous islands, were pronounced by Cartier to be unfit for settlement, especially Labrador, of which he remarks, "it might, as well as not, be taken for the country assigned by God to Cain." From the shore of Newfoundland the vessels were steered westward across the Gulf of St Lawrence, and about the 25th of June, arrived in the vicinity of the *Magdalen Islands.* Of an island, named "Isle Bryon," Cartier says it contained the best land they had yet seen, and that "*one acre of it was worth the whole of Newfoundland.*" Birds were plentiful, and on its shores were to be seen "beasts as large as oxen and possessing great tusks like elephants, which, when approached, leaped suddenly into the sea." There were very fine trees and rich tracts of ground, on which were seen growing quantities of "*wild corn, peas in flower, currants, strawberries, roses* and *sweet herbs.*" Cartier noticed the character of the tides and waves, which swept high and strong among the islands, and which suggested

to his mind the existence of an opening between the south of Newfoundland and Cape Breton.*

Towards the end of June the islands and mainland of the north-west part of the territory now called New Brunswick came in sight, and, as land was approached, Cartier began at once to search for a passage through which he might sail farther westward.

The ships' boats were several times lowered, and the crews made to row close in shore in the bays and inlets, for the purpose of discovering an opening. On these occasions natives were sometimes seen upon the beach, or moving about in bark canoes, with whom the French contrived to establish a friendly intercourse and traffic, by means of signs and presents of hatchets, knives, small crucifixes, beads, and toys. On one occasion they had in sight from forty to fifty canoes full of savages, of which seven paddled close up to the French boats, so as to surround them, and were driven away only by demonstrations of force. Cartier learned afterwards that it was customary for these savages to come down from parts more inland, in great numbers, to the coast, during the fishing season, and that this was the cause of his finding so many of them at that time. On the 7th day of the month a considerable body of the same savages came about the ships, and some traffic occurred. Gifts, consisting of knives, hatchets, and

* This proves Cartier's sagacity, since the outlet from the Gulf of St Lawrence into the Atlantic, between Cape Ray and Cape North, was of course, unknown to him. Portions of the coast of Cape Breton had, however, been visited by the French fishermen of those days. The following words are those in which Cartier himself refers to the idea of the passage in question:—"Aux environ d'icelles illes y a de grandes marées, qui portent comment Suest et Norouaist. Je présume mielx que autrement, à ce que j'ay vew, qu'il luy aict aulcun passaige entre la Terre Neuffue et la terre des Bretons. Si ainsi estoit, se seroit une grande abreuiacion, tant pour le temps que pour le chemyn, se trouve parfection en ce voyage."

toys, along with a red cap for their head chief, caused them to depart in great joy.

3. Early in July, Cartier found that he was in a considerable bay, which he named "La Baie des Chaleurs." He continued to employ his boats in the examination of the smaller inlets and mouths of the rivers flowing into the bay, hoping that an opening might be discovered similar to that by which, a month before, he had passed round the north of Newfoundland into the Gulf. After the 16th the weather was boisterous, and the ships were anchored for shelter close to the shore several days. During this time the savages came there to fish for mackerel, which were abundant, and held friendly intercourse with Cartier and his people. They were very poor and miserably clad in old skins, and sang and danced to testify their pleasure on receiving the presents which the French distributed among them.

Sailing eastward and northward, the vessels next passed along the coast of Gaspé, upon which the French landed and held intercourse with the natives. Cartier resolved to take formal possession of the country, and to indicate, in a conspicuous manner, that he did so in the name of the King, his master, and in the interests of religion. With these objects in view, on Friday, the 24th of July, a huge wooden cross, thirty feet in height, was constructed, and was raised with much ceremony, in sight of many of the Indians, close to the entrance of the harbour; three *fleurs de lys* being carved under the cross, and an inscription, "Vive le Roy de France." The French formed a circle on their knees around it, and made signs to attract the attention of the savages, pointing up to the heavens, "as if to show that by the cross came their redemption." These ceremonies being ended, Cartier and his people went on board, followed from the shore by

many of the Indians. Among these the principal chief, with his brother and three sons, in one canoe, came near Cartier's ship. He made an oration, in course of which he pointed towards the high cross, and then to the surrounding territory, as much as to say that it all belonged to him, and that the French ought not to have planted it there without his permission. The sight of hatchets and knives displayed before him, in such a manner as to show a desire to trade with him, made him approach nearer, and, at the same time, several sailors, entering his canoe, easily induced him and his companions to pass into the ship. Cartier, by signs, endeavoured to persuade the chief that the cross had been erected as a beacon to mark the way into the harbour; that he would revisit the place and bring hatchets, knives, and other things made of iron; and that he desired the friendship of his people. Food and drink were offered, of which they partook freely, when Cartier made known to the chief his wish to take two of his sons away with him for a time. The chief and his sons appear to have readily assented. The young men at once put on coloured garments, supplied by Cartier, throwing out their old clothing to others near the ship. The chief, with his brother and remaining son, were then dismissed with presents. About midday, however, just as the ships were about to move farther from shore, six canoes, full of Indians, came to them, bringing presents of fish, and to enable the friends of the chief's sons to bid them adieu. Cartier took occasion to enjoin upon the savages the necessity of guarding the cross which had been erected, upon which the Indians replied in unintelligible language.* Next day, July 25, the vessels left the

* The account here given of Cartier's intercourse with the savages of Gaspé, and of the method pursued in order to obtain possession of two of their young men, whom he designed to train as interpreters, as well as to

harbour with a fair wind, making sail northward to lat. 50°. It was intended to prosecute the voyage farther westward, if possible; but adverse winds, and the appearance of the distant headlands, discouraged Cartier's hopes so much, that on Wednesday, August 5, after taking counsel with his officers and pilots, he decided that it was not safe to attempt more that season. The little squadron, therefore, bore off towards the east and north-east, and made Blanc Sablon on the 9th. Continuing thence their passage into the Atlantic, they were favoured with fair winds, which carried them to the middle of the ocean, between Newfoundland and Bretagne. They then encountered storms and adverse winds, respecting which Cartier piously remarks: "We suffered and endured these with the aid of God, and after that we had good weather and arrived at the harbour of St Malo, whence we had set out, on September 5, 1534." Thus ended Jacques Cartier's first trip to Canada. As a French-Canadian historian of Canada has observed, this first expedition was not "sterile in results;" for, in addition to the other notable incidents of the voyage, the two natives whom he carried with him to France are understood to have been the first to inform him of the existence of the great river St Lawrence, which he was destined to discover the following year.

It is not certainly known how nearly he advanced to the mouth of that river on his passage from Gaspé Bay. But it is believed that he passed round the western point of Anticosti, subsequently named by him Isle de l'Assumption, and that he then turned to the east, leaving behind the entrance into the great river, which he then supposed

instruct them in religion and the habits of civilised life, places his conduct in a very favourable light as compared with the proceedings of eminent navigators in some other parts of the world. Some authors have strongly condemned Cartier as having practised cruelty and treachery on this occasion; but the facts here recorded disprove the accusation.

to be an extensive bay, and, coasting along the shore of Labrador, came to the river *Natachquoin*, near Mount Joli, whence, as already stated, he passed eastward and northward to *Blanc Sablon*.

CHAPTER II.

CARTIER'S SECOND VOYAGE—THE RIVER ST LAWRENCE—INDIAN TOWNS, STADACONA, HOCHELAGA—CARTIER WINTERS IN CANADA.

4. CARTIER and his companions were favourably received on their return to France. The expectations of his employers had been to a certain extent realised, while the narrative of the voyage, and the prospects which this afforded of greater results in future, inspired such feelings of hope and confidence that there seems to have been no hesitation in furnishing means for the equipment of another expedition. The Indians who had been brought to France were instructed in the French language, and served also as specimens of the people inhabiting his Majesty's western dominions. During the winter the necessary preparations were made.

5. On the 19th of May 1535, Cartier took his departure from St Malo on his second expedition. It was in every way better equipped than that of the preceding year, and consisted of three ships, manned by one hundred and ten sailors. A number of gentlemen volunteers from France accompanied it. Cartier himself embarked on board the largest vessel, which was named "La Grand Hermine," along with his two interpreters. Adverse winds lengthened

A.D. 1535.

the voyage, so that seven weeks were occupied in sailing to the Straits of Belleisle. Thence the squadron made for the *Gulf of St Lawrence*, so named by Cartier in honour of the day upon which he entered it. Emboldened by the information derived from his Indian interpreters, he sailed up the great river, at first named the river of *Canada*, or of *Hochelaga*. The mouth of the Saguenay was passed on September 1, and the island of Orleans reached on the 9th. To this he gave the name "Isle of Bacchus," on account of the abundance of grape-vines upon it.

On the 16th, the ships arrived off the headland since known as Cape Diamond. Near to this, a small river, called by Cartier *St Croix*, now the *St Charles*, was observed flowing into the St Lawrence, intercepting, at the confluence, a piece of low land, which was the site of the Indian village *Stadacona*. Towering above this, on the left bank of the greater river, was Cape Diamond and the contiguous high land, which in after times became the site of the Upper Town of Quebec. A little way within the mouth of the St Croix, Cartier selected stations suitable for mooring and laying up his vessels; for he seems, on his arrival at Stadacona, to have already decided upon wintering in the country. This design was favoured, not only by the advanced period of the season, but also by the fact that the natives appeared to be friendly, and in a position to supply his people abundantly with provisions. Many hundreds came off from the shore in bark canoes, bringing fish, maize, and fruit.

Aided by the two interpreters, the French endeavoured at once to establish a friendly intercourse. A chief, *Donacona*, made an oration, and expressed his desire for amicable relations between his own people and their visitors. Cartier, on his part, tried to allay apprehension, and to obtain information respecting the country higher up the great

river. Wishing also to impress upon the minds of the savages a conviction of the French power, he caused several pieces of artillery to be discharged in the presence of the chief and a number of his warriors. Fear and astonishment were occasioned by the sight of the fire and smoke, followed by sounds such as they had never heard before. Presents, consisting of trinkets, small crosses, beads, pieces of glass, and other trifles, were distributed among them.

6. Cartier allowed himself a rest of only three days at Stadacona, deeming it expedient to proceed at once up the river with an exploring party. For this purpose he manned his smallest ship, the *Ermerillon*, and two boats, and departed on the 19th of September, leaving the other ships safely moored at the mouth of the St Charles. He had learned from the Indians that there was another town, called *Hochelaga*, situated about sixty leagues above. Cartier and his companions, the first European navigators of the St Lawrence, and the earliest pioneers of civilisation and Christianity in those regions, moved very slowly up the river. At the part since called *Lake St Peter*, the water seemed to become more and more shallow. The *Ermerillon* was therefore left as well secured as possible, and the remainder of the passage made in the two boats. Frequent meetings, of a friendly nature, with Indians on the river bank caused delays, so that they did not arrive at Hochelaga until the 2d of October.

As described by Cartier himself, this town consisted of about fifty large huts or cabins, which, for purposes of defence, were surrounded by wooden palisades. There were upwards of twelve hundred inhabitants,* belonging to some Algonquin tribe.

* It has not been satisfactorily settled to what tribe the Indians belonged who were found by Cartier at Hochelaga. Some have even doubted the accuracy of his description in relation to their numbers, the character

At Hochelaga, as previously at Stadacona, the French were received by the natives in a friendly manner. Supplies of fish and maize were freely offered, and, in return, presents of beads, knives, small mirrors, and crucifixes were distributed. Entering into communication with them, Cartier sought information respecting the country higher up the river. From their imperfect intelligence, it appears he learned the existence of several great lakes, and that beyond the largest and most remote of these there was another great river which flowed southward. They conducted him to the summit of a mountain behind the town, whence he surveyed the prospect of a wilderness stretching to the south and west as far as the eye could reach, and beautifully diversified by elevations of land and by water. Whatever credit Cartier attached to their vague statements about the geography of their country, he was certainly struck by the grandeur of the neighbouring scenery as viewed from the eminence on which he stood. To this he gave the name of *Mount Royal*, whence the name of *Montreal* was conferred on the city which has grown up on the site of the ancient Indian town, *Hochelaga*.

According to some accounts, Hochelaga was, even in those days, a place of importance, having subject to it eight or ten outlying settlements or villages.

of their habitations, and other circumstances, under the belief that allowance must be made for exaggeration in the accounts of the first European visitors, who were desirous that their adventures should rival those of Cortez and Pizarro. It has also been suggested that the people were not Hurons, but remnants of the Iroquois tribes, who might have lingered there on their way southward. At any rate, when the place was revisited by Frenchmen more than half a century afterwards, very few savages were seen in the neighbourhood, and these different from those met by Cartier, while the town itself was no longer in existence. Champlain, upwards of seventy years after Jacques Cartier, visited Hochelaga, but made no mention in his narrative either of the town or of inhabitants.

7. Anxious to return to Stadacona, and probably placing little confidence in the friendly professions of the natives, Cartier remained at Hochelaga only two days, and commenced his passage down the river on the 4th of October. His wary mistrust of the Indian character was not groundless, for bands of savages followed along the banks, and watched all the proceedings of his party. On one occasion he was attacked by them, and narrowly escaped massacre.*

Arriving at Stadacona on the 11th, measures were taken for maintenance and security during the approaching winter. Abundant provisions had been already stored up by the natives and assigned for the use of the strangers. A fence or palisade was constructed round the ships, and made as strong as possible, and cannon so placed as to be available in case of any attack. Notwithstanding these precautions, it turned out that, in one essential particular, the preparations for winter were defective. Jacques Cartier and his companions being the first of Europeans to experience the rigours of a Canadian winter, the necessity for warm clothing had not been foreseen when the expedition left France, and now, when winter was upon them, the procuring of a supply was simply impossible. The winter proved long and severe. Masses of ice began to come down the St Lawrence on November 15th, and, not long afterwards, a bridge of ice was formed opposite to Stadacona. Soon the intensity of the cold,—such as Cartier's people had never before experienced,—and the want of suitable clothing, occasioned much suffering. Then, in December, a disease, but little known to

* By some writers it is alleged that the attack upon Cartier's party, while returning from Hochelaga to Stadacona, was instigated by a woman named *Unacona*, the squaw of one of the young Indians who had been carried off to France the preceding year.

Europeans, broke out amongst the crews. It was the *scurvy*, named by the French *mal-de-terre*.

As described by Cartier, it was very painful, loathsome in its symptoms and effects, as well as contagious. The legs and thighs of the patients swelled, the sinews contracted, and the skin became black. In some cases the whole body was covered with purple spots and sore tumours. After a time, the upper parts of the body—the back, arms, shoulders, neck, and face—were all painfully affected. The roof of the mouth, gums and teeth fell out. Altogether, the sufferers presented a deplorable spectacle.

Many died between December and April, during which period the greatest care was taken to conceal their true condition from the natives. Had this not been done, it is to be feared that Donacona's people would have forced an entrance and put all to death for the purpose of obtaining the property of the French. In fact, the two interpreters were, on the whole, unfaithful, living entirely at Stadacona; while Donacona, and the Indians generally, showed, in many ways, that, under a friendly exterior, unfavourable feelings reigned in their hearts.

But the attempts to hide their condition from the natives might have been fatal, for the Indians, who also suffered from scurvy, were acquainted with means of curing the disease. It was only by accident that Cartier found out what those means were. He had forbidden the savages to come on board the ships, and when any of them came near the only men allowed to be seen by them were those who were in health. One day, Domagaya was observed approaching. This man, the younger of the two interpreters, was known to have been sick of the scurvy at Stadacona, so that Cartier was much surprised to see him out and well. He contrived to make him relate the particulars of his recovery, and thus found out that a decoction of the bark

and foliage of the white spruce-tree furnished the savages with a remedy. Having recourse to this enabled the French captain to arrest the progress of the disease amongst his own people, and, in a short time, to bring about their restoration to health.

The meeting with Domagaya occurred at a time when the French were in a very sad state,—reduced to the brink of despair. Twenty-five of their number had died, while forty more were in expectation of soon following their deceased comrades. Of the remaining forty-five, including Cartier and all the surviving officers, only three or four were really free from disease. The dead could not be buried, nor was it possible for the sick to be properly cared for.

In this extremity, the stout-hearted French captain could think of no other remedy than a recourse to prayers and the setting up of an image of the Virgin Mary in sight of the sufferers. "But," he piously exclaimed, "God, in his holy grace, looked down in pity upon us, and sent to us a knowledge of the means of cure." He had great apprehensions of an attack from the savages, for he says in his narrative: "We were in a marvellous state of terror lest the people of the country should ascertain our pitiable condition and our weakness," and then goes on to relate artifices by which he contrived to deceive them.

One of the ships had to be abandoned in course of the winter, her crew and contents being removed into the other two vessels. The deserted hull was visited by the savages in search of pieces of iron and other things. Had they known the cause for abandoning her, and the desperate condition of the French, they would have soon forced their way into the other ships. They were, in fact, too numerous to be resisted, if they had made the attempt.

8. At length the protracted winter came to an end. As

soon as the ships were clear of ice, Cartier made preparations for returning at once to France.

On May 3, 1536, a wooden cross, thirty-five feet high, was raised upon the river bank. Donacona was invited to approach, along with his people. When he did so, Cartier caused him, together with the two interpreters and seven warriors, to be seized and taken on board his ship. His object was to convey them to France and present them to the King. On the 6th, the two vessels departed. Upwards of six weeks were spent in descending the St Lawrence and traversing the Gulf. Instead of passing through the Straits of Belleisle, Cartier this time made for the south coast of Newfoundland, along which he sailed out into the Atlantic Ocean. On Sunday, July 17th, 1536, he arrived at St Malo.

9. By the results of this second voyage, Jacques Cartier established for himself a reputation and a name in history which will never cease to be remembered with respect. He had discovered one of the largest rivers in the world, had explored its banks, and navigated its difficult channel, more than 800 miles, with a degree of skill and courage which has never been surpassed; for it was a great matter in those days to penetrate so far into unknown regions, to encounter the hazards of an unknown navigation, and to risk his own safety and that of his followers amongst an unknown people. Moreover, his accounts of the incidents of his sojourn of eight months, and of the features of the country, as well as his estimate of the two principal sites upon which, in after times, the two cities, Quebec and Montreal, have grown up, illustrate both his fidelity and his sagacity. His dealings with the natives appear to have been such as to prove his tact, prudence, and sense of justice, notwithstanding the objectionable procedure of capturing and carrying off Donacona, with other chiefs and

warriors. This latter measure, however indefensible in itself, was consistent with the almost universal practice of navigators of that period and long afterwards. Doubtless, Cartier's expectation was that their abduction could not but result in their own benefit, by leading to their instruction in civilisation and Christianity, and that it might be afterwards instrumental in producing the rapid conversion of large numbers of their people. However this may be, considering the inherent viciousness of the Indian character, Cartier's intercourse with the Indians was conducted with dignity and benevolence, and was marked by the total absence of bloodshed—which is more than can be urged in behalf of other eminent discoverers and navigators of those days, or during the ensuing two centuries. Cartier was undoubtedly one of the greatest sea-captains of his own or any other country, and one who provided carefully for the safety and welfare of his followers; and, so far as we know, enjoyed their respect and confidence; nor were his plans hindered or his proceedings embarrassed by disobedience on their part or the display of mutinous conduct calculated to mar the success of a maritime expedition. In fine, Jacques Cartier was a noble specimen of a mariner, in an age when a maritime spirit prevailed.*

* As has been already mentioned, the *dates* given in the text are of the *old style*. According to modern reckoning, those of this chapter would stand as follows :—

Arrival at Stadacona	Sept. 27, 1535.
Departure for Hochelaga	„ 30, „
Arrival at Hochelaga	Oct. 13, „
Departure from Hochelaga	„ 15, „
Return to Stadacona	„ 22, „
Ice floating down river	Nov. 26, „
Breaking up of ice-bridge	Mar. 4, 1536.
Ships clear of ice	April 10, „
Departure from Stadacona	May 17, „
„ „ Cape Race	June 30, „
Arrival at St Malo	July 28, „

CHAPTER III.

CARTIER'S THIRD VOYAGE—ROBERVAL—ALLEGED FOURTH VOYAGE OF CARTIER.

10. A SEVERE disappointment awaited Cartier on his return home from his second voyage. France was engaged in a foreign war; and at the same time, the minds of the people were distracted by religious dissensions. In consequence of these untoward circumstances, both the Court and the people had ceased to give heed to the objects which he had been so faithfully engaged in prosecuting in the Western Hemisphere. Neither he nor his friends could obtain even a hearing in behalf of the fitting out of another expedition, for the attention of the King and his advisers was now absorbed by weightier cares at home. Nevertheless, from time to time, as occasion offered, several unsuccessful attempts were made to introduce the project of establishing a French colony on the banks of the St Lawrence. Meanwhile, Donacona, and the other Indian warriors who had been brought captives to France, pined away and died. A.D. 1536, 1537.

11. At length, after an interval of about four years, proposals for another voyage westward, and for colonising the country, came to be so far entertained that plans of an expedition were permitted to be discussed. But now, instead of receiving the unanimous support which had been accorded to previous undertakings, the project was opposed by a powerful party at Court, A.D. 1540.

consisting of persons who tried to dissuade the King from granting his assent. These alleged that enough had already been done for the honour of their country; that it was not expedient to take in hand the subjugation and settlement of those far-distant regions, tenanted only by savages and wild animals; that the intensely severe climate, and hardships such as had proved fatal to one-fourth of Cartier's people in 1535, were certain evils, which there was no prospect of advantage to outweigh; that the newly-discovered country had not been shown to possess mines of gold and silver; and, finally, that such extensive territories could not be effectively settled without transporting thither a considerable part of the population of the kingdom of France.

Notwithstanding the apparent force of these objections, the French King did eventually sanction the project of another transatlantic enterprise on a larger scale than heretofore.

A sum of money was granted by the King towards the purchase and equipment of ships, to be placed under the command of Jacques Cartier, having the commission of Captain-General.* Apart from the navigation of the fleet, the chief command in the undertaking was assigned to *M. de Roberval*, who, in a commission dated January 15, 1540, was named Viceroy and Lieut.-General over Newfoundland, Labrador, and Canada. Roberval was empowered to engage volunteers and emigrants, and to supply the lack of these by means of prisoners to be taken from the jails and hulks. Thus, in about five years from

* Commission dated 20th October 1540. In this document the French King's appreciation of Cartier's merits is strongly shown in the terms employed to express his royal confidence "in the character, judgment, ability, loyalty, dignity, hardihood, great diligence, and experience of the said Jacques Cartier." Cartier was also authorised to select fifty prisoners "whom he might judge useful," &c.

the discovery of the river St Lawrence, and, six years after, of Canada, measures were taken for founding a colony. But from the very commencement of the undertaking, which, it will be seen, proved an entire failure, difficulties presented themselves. Roberval was unable to provide all the requisite supplies of small arms, ammunition, and other stores, as he had engaged to do, during the winter of 1540. It also was found difficult to induce volunteers and emigrants to embark. It was, therefore, settled that Roberval should remain behind to complete his preparations, while Cartier, with five vessels, provisioned for two years, should set sail at once for the St Lawrence.

12. On the 23d of May 1541, Cartier departed from St Malo on his third voyage to Canada. After a protracted passage of twelve weeks, the fleet arrived at Stadacona. Cartier and some of his people landed and entered into communication with the natives, who flocked round him as they had done in 1535. They desired to know what had become of their chief, Donacona, and the warriors who had been carried off to France five years before. On being made aware that all had died, they became distant and sullen in their behaviour. They held out no inducements to the French to re-establish their quarters at Stadacona. Perceiving this, as well as signs of dissimulation, Cartier determined to take such steps as might secure himself and followers from suffering through their resentment. Two of his ships he sent back at once to France, with letters for the King, and for Roberval, reporting his movements, and soliciting such supplies as were needed. With the remaining ships he ascended the St Lawrence as far as *Cap-Rouge*, where a station was chosen close to the mouth of a stream which flowed into the great river. Here it was determined to moor the ships and to erect such storehouses and other works as might be necessary for security

A.D. 1541.

and convenience. It was also decided to raise a small fort or forts on the high land above, so as to command the station and protect themselves from any attack which the Indians might be disposed to make. While some of the people were employed upon the building of the fort, others were set at work preparing ground for cultivation. Cartier himself, in his report, bore ample testimony to the excellent qualities of the soil, as well as the general fitness of the country for settlement.*

13. Having made all the dispositions necessary for the security of the station at Cap-Rouge, and for continuing, during his absence, the works already commenced, Cartier departed for Hochelaga on the 7th of September, with a party of men, in two barges. On the passage up he found the Indians whom he had met in 1535 as friendly as before. The natives of Hochelaga seemed also well disposed, and rendered all the assistance he sought in enabling him to attempt the passage up the rapids situated above that town. Failing to accomplish this, he remained but a short time amongst them, gathering all the information they could furnish about the regions bordering on the Upper St Lawrence. He then hastened back to Cap-Rouge. On his way down he found the Indians, who, a short time before were so friendly, changed

A.D. 1541.

* His description is substantially as follows:—"On both sides of the river were very good lands filled with as beautiful and vigorous trees as are to be seen in the world, and of various sorts. A great many *oaks*, the finest I have ever seen in my life, and so full of acorns that they seemed like to break down with their weight. Besides these there were the most beautiful *maples*, *cedars*, *birches*, and other kinds of trees not to be seen in France. The forest land towards the south is covered with *vines*, which are found loaded with grapes as black as brambleberries. There were also many *hawthorn* trees, with leaves as large as those of the oak, and fruit like that of the medlar-tree. In short, the country is as fit for cultivation as one could find or desire. We sowed seeds of *cabbage*, *lettuce*, *turnips*, and others of our country, which *came up in eight days*."

and cold in their demeanour, if not actually hostile. Arrived at Cap-Rouge, the first thing he learned was, that the Indians had ceased to visit the station as at first, and instead of coming daily with supplies of fish and fruit, that they only approached near enough to manifest, by their demeanour and gestures, feelings decidedly hostile towards the French. In fact, during Cartier's absence, former causes of enmity had been heightened by a quarrel, in which, although some of his own people had, in the first instance, been the aggressors, a powerful savage had killed a Frenchman, and threatened to deal with another in like manner.

Winter came, but not Roberval with the expected supplies of warlike stores and men, now so much needed, in order to curb the insolence of the natives. Of the incidents of that winter passed at Cap-Rouge, there is but little reliable information extant. It is understood, however, that the Indians continued to harass and molest the French throughout the period of their stay, and that Cartier, with his inadequate force, found it difficult to repel their attacks. When spring came round, the inconveniences to which they had been exposed, and the discouraging character of their prospects, led to a unanimous determination to abandon the station and return to France as soon as possible.*

* Early in the spring of 1542 Cartier seems to have made several small excursions in search of gold and silver. That these existed in the country, especially in the region of the Saguenay, was intimated to him by the Indians; and this information probably led Roberval afterwards to undertake his unfortunate excursion to Tadousac. Cartier did find a yellowish material, which he styled "*poudre d'or*," and which he took to France, after exhibiting it to Roberval when he met him at Newfoundland. It is likely that this was merely fine sand intermixed with particles of *mica*. He also took with him small transparent stones, which he supposed to be *diamonds*, but which could have been no other than transparent crystals of quartz.

Cartier's desire to find gold was undoubtedly stimulated by the reports

14. At the very time that Cartier, in Canada, was occupied in preparations for the re-embarkation of the people who had wintered at Cap-Rouge, Roberval, in France, was completing his arrangements for departure from Rochelle with three considerable ships. In these were embarked two hundred persons, consisting of gentlemen, soldiers, sailors, and colonists, male and female, amongst whom was a considerable number of criminals, taken out of the public prisons. The two squadrons met in the harbour of St John's, Newfoundland, when Cartier, after making his report to Roberval, was desired to return with the outward-bound expedition to Canada. Foreseeing the failure of the undertaking, or, as some have alleged, unwilling to allow another to participate in the credit of his discoveries, Cartier disobeyed the orders of his superior officer. Various accounts have been given of this transaction, according to some of which, Cartier, to avoid detention or importunity, weighed anchor in the night-time and set sail for France. A.D. 1542.

15. Roberval resumed his voyage westward, and by the close of July, had ascended the St Lawrence to Cap-Rouge, where he at once established his colonists in the quarters recently vacated by Cartier.

It is unnecessary to narrate in detail the incidents which transpired in connection with Roberval's expedition, as this proved a signal failure, and produced no results of consequence to the future fortunes of the country. It is sufficient to state, that although Roberval himself was a man endowed with courage and perseverance, he found himself powerless to cope with the difficulties of his position, which included insubordination that could be

which had reached Europe more than twenty years before, of the large quantities of the precious metals found by the Spaniards in the West Indies, Mexico, and Peru.

repressed only by means of the gallows and other extreme modes of punishment; disease, which carried off a quarter of his followers in the course of the ensuing winter; unsuccessful attempts at exploration, attended with considerable loss of life; and finally, famine, which reduced the surviving French to a state of abject dependence upon the natives for the salvation of their lives. Roberval had sent one of his vessels back to France, with urgent demands for succour; but the King, instead of acceding to his petition, dispatched orders for him to return home. It is stated, on somewhat doubtful authority, that Cartier himself was deputed to bring home the relics of the expedition; and, if so, this distinguished navigator must have made a fourth voyage out to the regions which he had been the first to make known to the world. Thus ended Roberval's abortive attempt to establish a French colony on the banks of the St Lawrence.

16. Of the principal actors in the scenes which have been described, but little remains to be recorded. A.D. 1549. Roberval, after having distinguished himself in the European wars carried on by Francis I., is stated to have fitted out another expedition, in conjunction with his brother, in the year 1549, for the purpose of making a second attempt to found a colony in Canada; but he, and all with him, perished at sea. The intrepid Cartier, by whose services in the Western Hemisphere so extensive an addition had been made to the dominions of the King of France, was suffered to retire into obscurity, and is supposed to have passed the remainder of his days on a small estate possessed by him in the neighbourhood of his native place, St Malo. The date of his decease is unknown.*

* Cartier was born December 31, 1494. He was therefore in the prime of life when he discovered Canada, and not more than forty-nine years of age at the time when he returned home from his last trip to the West.

CHAPTER IV.

THE CONDITION OF FRANCE—EXPEDITION OF THE MARQUIS DE LA ROCHE—THE CONVICTS ON SABLE ISLAND—THE PELTRY TRADE.

17. After the events recorded in the preceding chapter, about half a century elapsed before attempts to colonise Canada were renewed. In the interval, some slight intercourse of a commercial kind was maintained with the country by French merchants, as there were a few trading posts along the banks of the St Lawrence, whither these came, from time to time, in order to trade with the Indians in the skins of beavers and other wild animals. In the lower St Lawrence and Gulf, the vast abundance of marine animals and of fish, would of course serve to bring numbers of fishing vessels every season; and thus a constant communication would be maintained, while the interior of the country was left to the undisputed occupation of the Indian tribes.

18. At the time when the expedition under Cartier and Roberval was fitted out, the throne of France was occupied by Francis I., whose reign continued about four years afterwards. His successors, Henry II., Francis II., Charles IX., and Henry III., were constantly engaged in political intrigues, and in war with foreign enemies abroad and insurgents at home. Religious dissensions prevailed throughout the kingdom between the *Huguenots*,* and those who adhered to the

A.D. 1547.

* French Protestants, and including the *Calvinists* or followers of John Calvin (Cauvin), a native of Noyon, in Picardy.

national faith, attended with mutual persecution and much bloodshed. Under such circumstances, and until the celebrated Henry IV. was firmly established on the throne, it was impossible for the Government of France to concern itself about Canada.*

* It may be well to note, in this place, a striking proof that generous sentiment, and the inclination for maritime enterprise were not wholly extinguished during the dark periods of history alluded to in the text.

Subsequently to the year 1541, the Spaniards, impelled by a thirst for gold, had made several fresh attempts to establish themselves in Florida and on the banks of the lower Mississippi. The track of Spanish invasion, was, as usual, marked by bloodshed and by cruelty towards the aborigines; and the Spaniards generally, both at home and abroad, were in those days indisposed to entertain any feelings of indulgence towards the so-called heresies of the Calvinists and Huguenots of France. Some of these latter, under the auspices of *Coligny*, having failed in their endeavours to found a colony in Brazil, between the years 1555 and 1558, renewed their efforts in Florida under the guidance of *Ribaud* in 1562, and of *Laudonniere* in 1565. The coast of Florida became, in consequence, the theatre of a series of bloody encounters between the natives and the Europeans, and between the Spaniards and French. The monstrous treachery and cruelties of the Spaniards under *Melendez*, perpetrated upon Ribaud, Laudonniere, and their followers, on the grounds that they were "heretics and enemies of God," were such as to almost pass beyond the bounds of credibility, and created, when they became known in France, a profound sensation. Although the victims, amounting to between eight and nine hundred, had been Huguenots, religious animosities for a season subsided into indignation and a desire to avenge the atrocious treatment of their countrymen. The Government could not or would not adopt measures. But a noted military officer and enthusiast, named *Dominique de Gorgues*, expended all the means he possessed, together with all he could raise among his friends, in equipping a band of about two hundred and fifty chosen men. These he conducted to the very scene of Spanish perfidy and cruelty; and, having surmounted all obstacles, with the aid of native warriors, whose people had also suffered at the hands of the Spaniards, he signally avenged the fate of Ribaud and Laudonniere. This occurred in 1567, only five years before the massacre of St Bartholemew's, and the facts are well authenticated, affording an instance of *the feelings of race* predominating over religious antipathies, at a period when these operated most powerfully. The chivalrous enterprise of M. de Gorgues, of a romantic character in all its incidents, was no less remarkable for the heroism of the leader and his followers, than for the skill with which it was executed, and its complete success. It may be added, that the people of France, apart from

19. At length, in the year 1598, according to the best authorities, the Marquis de la Roche, having obtained a commission as Viceroy, embarked with a retinue, and about fifty convicts selected from the prisons and galleys, and set sail westward for Canada. He never reached the river St Lawrence, and his expedition was rendered memorable only by the sufferings and fate of the unhappy convicts. About forty of these were set ashore on *Sable Island*, with the intention, it would appear, of re-embarking them after the Marquis had been enabled to spend some time in exploring portions of the Gulf. A violent storm arose which drove his vessel eastward across the Atlantic, even to the coast of France. It happened that he was prevented from ever returning to look after his unfortunate people on the island. These contrived to sustain a miserable existence, making use of seal-skin garments, and sheltering themselves in caves, and rude huts made of materials cast ashore by the waves, until, at the end of five years, they were thought of, and a vessel sent out for the purpose of ascertaining their fate. Hardship and suffering, in addition to quarrels amongst themselves, had reduced their number to twelve, who were conveyed back to France, and their former offences pardoned by King Henry IV. in consideration of what they had endured on Sable Island. Thus, nothing whatever was effected by the Marquis de la Roche in the way of founding a colony in *New France*.* A.D. 1598.

20. Before proceeding further with this history, it is necessary to refer more particularly to the traffic in skins

the French court, then under the influence of *Catherine de Medicis*, warmly appreciated the gallant conduct of De Gorgues, and foreign countries, except Spain, applauded him.

* This appellation, given at first to regions of which only portions of the coast were imperfectly explored, came to be applied more particularly to the territory bordering on the river St Lawrence, and the great lakes in

and furs—*the peltry trade*—which was alluded to in the beginning of this chapter. It was destined to become a chief cause or instrument in originating and promoting the actual settlement of the country.

The skins of several of the wild animals which were plentiful in North America were esteemed valuable in Europe, and could be sold at prices which enabled merchants to bear the cost of sending out ships and agents in order to procure them from the savages. To carry on the trade, fixed stations were necessary, accessible to Europeans and to the Indians themselves, not only as places of rendezvous where the Indians and the traders could have certain opportunities of meeting and of dealing with each other, but also as permanent sites for dwellings and storehouses, to accommodate the people employed, and to contain the merchandise required in the traffic. The first station established on the St Lawrence by the French was *Tadoussac*, at the mouth of the Saguenay. Afterwards, others were provided at *Quebec*, at *Three Rivers*, at *Montreal* (*Ville Marie*), and at other points; and, in course of time, as the colony increased, and the peltry trade grew into an extensive business carried on with savage tribes whose hunting grounds were situated far away in the interior of the continent, such trading posts became numerous in proportion, and included localities far distant from those which sufficed in earlier days. Circumstances rendered it absolutely necessary that the marts should never be without the means of defence; and, accordingly, they nearly always partook of the character of fortifications.

the interior—in fact, to *Canada*, along with certain tracts of land subsequently included within the boundary of the *United States*. There never were any properly settled boundaries to what the French called New France. When they used the term *Canada*, they usually meant that part of New France which was contiguous to the St Lawrence, from the lake region to the Gulf.

Around and near to these, it became customary for colonists to establish themselves, as well as tribes of Indians friendly to the French, and needing protection from their savage adversaries. In most cases, when it was determined to establish a trading post in any locality, the first step in the way of preparation, was to provide for the construction of a suitable fort. It is easy to comprehend how it came to pass, that, on sites originally intended for mere trading stations, villages, towns, and even cities now exist and flourish.

It is proper also to allude to some of the other ways in which the peltry trade was essentially instrumental in building up the colony. In France, from time to time, companies were organised, to whom charters of incorporation were granted by the Government, assuring to them rights and privileges on certain specified conditions. The principal conditions usually, if not always, were such as to impose the duty of conveying to the country a stipulated number of settlers or emigrants, and of establishing them on the land; and, to compensate them for the charges thus incurred, the charters conferred the exclusive right of carrying on the peltry business. Other conditions and duties, in addition to those mentioned, and other privileges, were sometimes included in the terms of the charters; and, especially, it was, for the most part, enjoined upon the companies to promote the conversion of the native inhabitants to Christianity, and to exclude, both as respected the colonists and the Indians, all religious doctrines and systems except those appertaining to the faith professed by the court and people of France.

Thus, in three leading points which have been stated —namely, the selection of sites for establishing forts and stations—that is, the sites of the future villages and towns—the importation of settlers to clear and cultivate

the lands, and the conversion of the natives, which implied the employment of many missionaries, the fur trade must be regarded as the one essential foundation and resource which originated the colony and sustained its growth, until, after an infancy of more than one hundred and fifty years, its permanence was assured. As will be gathered from the course of early Canadian history, almost every question of any importance that arose amongst the French colonists themselves, or between them and the Indians, or affecting their relations with the nearest European colonists, was connected directly or indirectly with that traffic.* In short, it supplied to the cupidity of companies and traders that sort of food, which, to the Spanish adventurers in Mexico and Peru, was presented in the form of the precious metals; and it was a chief cause which, in con-

* Of the wild animals of New France here alluded to, the most useful were *the beaver, moose, cariboo, the bear, the otter, the marten, wolf, fox, the puma, wild cat, ermine, musk-rat.* Before Europeans came, the savages destroyed and made use of these creatures only according as their safety or their wants dictated. In the forests, therefore, and especially in the lake regions, and northward to Hudson's Bay, wild animals abounded, and may be supposed to have been on the increase. The peltry trade, into which not only the French entered, but also the English and Dutch traders, who established posts in New England, soon imparted to the Indians a higher estimate of the products of the chase, and, in course of time, was extended far inland, northward and westward, until all the wandering tribes participated. Then the multiplication of some of the more valuable species (especially the beaver) was greatly diminished, and, proportionally, the increased prices offered by the traders compensated for the comparative scarcity of animals.

M. Ferland, in reference to Tadoussac and the Saguenay, thus remarks upon the value of furs procurable in their vicinity 260 years ago:—"... His (M. du Monts') observations in the neighbourhood of Tadoussac, disgusted him with the country extending northward. The traders, on the contrary, made for those parts, because there they found their profit. The Saguenay, in truth, did not contain either gold mines or precious stones, as was at first supposed; but it furnished other sources of riches. These consisted in its valuable furs, which at that time bore a high price in Europe—the *marten,* the *otter,* the *beaver,* and above all the *black fox* (a good skin in the present day fetches 100 dol. on the coast of

junction with the pious aims of the zealous Catholic missionaries, extended discovery westward and southward into the very heart of the continent. In the earlier days of Canada, the spoils of the chase constituted her riches—her only products available for market abroad.

CHAPTER V.

M. PONTEGRAVÉ AND CAPTAIN CHAUVIN—M. DE CHATES—M. DE MONTS—CHAMPLAIN.

21. In the years 1599 and 1600, M. Pontegravé and M. Chauvin, who seem to have been skilled both in seamanship and in mercantile pursuits, were associated together in making voyages to the St Lawrence. They had procured a charter from King Henry IV., by which, in return for the exclusive right of trafficking in furs, they became bound to transport to New France five hundred colonists. The conditions seem to have been very imperfectly fulfilled. Those whom they took out under the name of colonists were simply factors and male servants of the associates. Many of them died from disease and hardship, aggravated by the tardy manner in which the necessary supplies from France were furnished. At the

A.D. 1599, 1600.

Labrador, and 300 dol. in Russia), were highly esteemed on account of the value of their skins, which commanded a ready sale at high prices. This north side was therefore, in spite of the rigour of its climate and sterility of its soil, much frequented by merchants, who procured the richest furs in exchange for articles of little worth—such as *hatchets, knives, fish-hooks, arrows, &c.*"

same time the privileges conferred upon M. Pontegravé and Chauvin were not secured to them, nor respected by others, since private merchants belonging to Dieppe, St Malo, Rouen, and Rochelle continued to prosecute the fur trade on their own account.

It is not clear that they carried out any actual settlers or colonists. Chauvin appears to have been the more active partner; and being a Huguenot, as well as indifferent about matters not immediately conducive to profit, he certainly neglected the condition of the charter whereby he was bound to establish a system of religion to which he was opposed. His associate, Pontegravé, accompanied him up the St Lawrence, into Lake St Peter, where it was proposed to have a trading post at the locality since called *Three Rivers*. But Chauvin objected in favour of *Tadoussac*, at the mouth of the Saguenay, where a building was erected, and a party of sixteen men left to pass the winter. The partners then returned to France, accompanied by a French gentleman named *De Monts*, who had gone out with them to see the country. When Chauvin came back, in the ensuing spring, he found that most of those whom he had left at Tadoussac had perished through disease and famine. In the following year, he himself died on shipboard. The fur business had not, on the whole, been very profitable, chiefly by reason of the unlicensed traffic carried on by the traders and merchants already mentioned. But, after Chauvin's decease, measures were taken to put an end to that kind of opposition. Pontegravé allied himself with an influential and wealthy gentleman, named *De Chates*, the Commandant of Dieppe. Under his auspices a company was formed so as to include those merchants of Dieppe, Rouen, and other places, and thus make these partners instead of opponents. The head of the new company, De

A.D. 1601.

A.D. 1602.

Chates, was a judicious and honourable person, high in favour at the court of Henry IV. In addition to other advantages arising from his connection, he was the means of bringing forward the renowned *Champlain.*

22. *Samuel de Champlain*, who must be regarded as the real founder of the Canadian colony, was already a noted man when invited by De Chates to take part in the enterprise for colonising New France. He had served in the French marine at the Antilles, and also in the South of France against the Spaniards, and De Chates had met him at court. He was a man of noble and virtuous disposition, chivalrous, and inspired with a deep sense of religion, and at that time about thirty-six years of age. It will also be seen that Champlain was gifted with qualities which endeared him both to his own followers and to the native Indians of Canada. He was of good address—always able, when he desired it, to render himself acceptable to the highest personages in France, so as to secure a willing attention to his representations. Such was the man who, under the auspices of De Chates and of M. de Monts, first made his appearance in New France, in whose early annals he figured conspicuously upwards of thirty years.

23. In 1603, Champlain, in conjunction with Pontegravé, made his first voyage to the St Lawrence. At Tadoussac they left their ships and ascended the river in boats, to the then farthest attainable point—the Sault St Louis, now known as "*The Rapids*," above the city of Montreal. The features of the country, so far as they could be examined from the river, were carefully observed. The Indian towns of Cartier's time, Stadacona and Hochelaga, were no longer in existence; but Champlain regarded with attention the scenery around their sites. Hochelaga is not even mentioned by him, although, acting as Cartier had done nearly seventy years

A.D. 1603.

before, he ascended *Mount-Royal* in order to obtain a good view.

Returning to Tadoussac, where their three small vessels had been left, Champlain and Pontegravé, towards autumn, set sail for France.

De Chates had died during their absence, and the company formed by him was already almost broken up. Champlain, however, prepared a narrative, and a map to illustrate what he had seen, and submitted these for the information of King Henry, who expressed his willingness to countenance the resumption of plans for settling the country.

24. Almost immediately afterwards the company was re-organised by M. de Monts, of whom mention has already been made. He also was a Huguenot, A.D. 1603. patriotic, of great abilities and experience, and possessing much influence at court, without which he could not have surmounted impediments that were purposely raised against his designs from the first. The King, unmoved by the objections to De Monts, appointed him Lieutenant-General of the North American territory between lat. 40° and 46° N., with instructions to establish colonists, cultivate the soil, search for mines of gold and silver, build forts and towns, and with power to confer grants of land, as well as the exclusive right of trading with the natives in furs and all kinds of merchandise. Although a Protestant, while De Monts and his friends were to enjoy the free exercise of their religion, he was bound by the charter to provide for the conversion of the natives, and their training, exclusively, in the principles and worship of the Church of Rome.

The King was the more willing to grant a charter on these terms, because De Monts and his company were to bear all the costs that might be incurred in their enter-

prise. Preparations were then made for the dispatch of an expedition on a larger scale than any that had yet left France for America.

25. Early in the spring of 1604, De Monts set sail with four vessels, well manned, and equipped with all means requisite, both for carrying on the fur trade and for starting a colony at any place that might be judged suitable. He had under him Champlain and Pontegravé, also a French nobleman named *Poutrincourt*, who was going out to settle with his family in America, and the subsequently celebrated historian *Lescarbot*. Two of the ships were specially intended for the fur traffic, and, in the first instance to scour the coasts and inlets, for the purpose of driving away or capturing all persons found illegally trading with the natives. The other two ships had on board the intending colonists; amongst whom were soldiers and workpeople, priests, ministers, and some gentlemen volunteers. This expedition did not steer for Canada, but for that part of New France then called *Acadia* (*Nova Scotia*), De Monts being under the impression that he should there find localities more favourable for settlement than by ascending the St Lawrence. But it carried with it those whom *Lescarbot* justly styled "*the hope of Canada;*" for besides De Monts, there were Champlain and Pontegravé, and probably many of inferior grade, whose participation in this attempt to found an Acadian colony must have greatly assisted in rendering their future services more valuable elsewhere.* . . .

A.D. 1604.

* The details of proceedings of the Acadian expedition, from the time of their arriving on the coast in 1604 until its virtual destruction in 1613, are deeply interesting, although out of place in this history. A good deal of time was lost in deciding upon a place of landing. They coasted along till they reached the *Bay of Fundy*, when, warned by the approach of winter, De Monts made a somewhat hasty and very unfortunate selection of a spot for winter quarters, where there was a deficiency of wood

26. The effort at colonisation in Acadia may be said to have been sustained under many vicissitudes during about nine years until the year 1613; but long before this the attention and services of Champlain and Pontegravé were withdrawn. De Monts lost his charter in 1606, about which time Champlain having, in conjunction with Pontegravé, made a number of maritime excursions from Port-Royal, and some geographical discoveries, during the previous two years, became urgent for the renewal of attempts up the river St Lawrence, which he never ceased to represent as offering a more favourable field for enterprise than the shores of Acadia. In 1607, therefore, De Monts procured the restoration of his charter for the space of one year; and, following Champlain's suggestions, turned his attention to Canada. Two vessels were A.D. 1607.

and water, and where disease carried off more than one-third of his people. Early in spring they re-embarked, and sailed southward along the coast now belonging to Maine and Massachusetts. Finding no place judged suitable for disembarking, they returned northward to Acadia, where they found Pontegravé arrived from France with forty additional colonists. After this happy meeting, the expedition steered for that part of the coast where the town *Annapolis* is situated, then named Port-Royal. The spot had been visited and named the previous season; and Poutrincourt had been so delighted with its appearance that he had desired a grant of it, and to settle there. The emigrants were landed, and a settlement commenced, which soon became prosperous, under the auspices of Poutrincourt and Lescarbot. The place was, however, abandoned after about three years, and again re-occupied by Frenchmen in 1610. The assassination of Henry IV. in that year removed the best friend and supporter of the company's schemes, and occasioned a second abandonment. Afterwards, when the place was again occupied as a settlement, an English colonial captain, named *Argall*, in 1613, made a sort of piratical attack upon Port-Royal, and effected its complete destruction. In the meantime, in course of the previous nine years, the events at Port-Royal had led to the taking up of several other locations, which received from time to time small accessions of emigrants from France, and which, notwithstanding the disasters that befell the principal place, were never wholly depopulated; and thus originated the colony of Acadia, of which De Monts and Poutrincourt may be regarded as the founders.

fitted out and dispatched in April 1608. Arriving at Tadoussac in June, Champlain left his colleague there to traffic with the natives, while he continued his route up the river, until he came to the place where Cartier and his companions had wintered in 1535.

A.D. 1608.

27. Champlain landed, and having ascended some distance from the mouth of the St Charles towards the promontory now called *Cape Diamond*, judged the situation favourable for permanent settlement. Artisans, provisions, merchandise, arms, and tools were brought on shore, and a commencement made in the work of constructing wooden buildings and defences. At the same time preparations were made for cultivating the ground, and for testing the productiveness of the soil, by sowing various seeds brought from France. In these operations, begun on July 3, 1608, Champlain had in view the establishment of a fixed trading station for the advantage of the Company he represented, as well as the more immediate purpose of providing for the security and accommodation of his people during the ensuing winter. But on the site of these rude works the city of Quebec grew up in after times. Champlain is, therefore, entitled to be regarded as its founder, and the date last mentioned as that of its foundation.

During the autumn, the works were continued, Champlain himself superintending them with indefatigable activity.* Pontegravé returned to France with the results of the season's traffic at Tadoussac.

28. Champlain's experience, previously acquired at Port-

* At one time there was danger of the proceedings being brought to a premature close through a conspiracy devised by some discontented artisans. A few of these planned the murder of Champlain, after which the magazines of provisions and merchandise were to be plundered, and an escape effected to Spain on board one of the foreign vessels then in the river. Shortly before the time fixed for the execution of the plot, one of the conspirators, impelled by remorse for having entered into designs

Royal, doubtless was of service in giving effect to his forethought and energy as regards preparations for the winter; for it is recorded that the thirty persons composing his party were comfortably protected from the ordinary rigours of the climate. But there was one enemy against whose insidious approaches he could not guard—the *scurvy*, called by the French "*mal de terre.*" In those days preventatives against that terrible disease were unknown. All Champlain's workpeople were afflicted with it, although they do not seem to have been exposed to any hardship, or to any hard work, beyond bringing in fuel from the contiguous forest. Only eight survived the comparatively short winter of 1608-9, which came to an end early in April.

29. On the return of spring, Champlain's activity of disposition did not suffer him to await the coming of Pontegravé from France. He set out at once up the St Lawrence. Meeting parties of Indians belonging to Algonquin and Huron tribes, he entered into friendly communication with them. Between these tribes and the Iroquois, or Five Nations, a state of warfare subsisted. Champlain, on his part, desired to secure the friendship of those natives who were to be the more immediate neighbours of the French on the St Lawrence, while the Algonquins and Hurons were equally solicitous about forming an alliance with the Europeans for the sake of aid against their enemies. An understanding was soon established. The Indians engaged to visit the French trading posts A.D. 1609.

against the life of the amiable Champlain, gave information which saved him and the infant colony. Four of the leaders were at once seized and placed in custody of Pontegravé; and, after an investigation, the principal conspirator was executed, while the other three were sent to France. The pretext made use of had been "*hard work and poor fare.*" The loss of Champlain at that time would have been irreparable, as there was no one qualified to take his place.

with abundance of furs for the purposes of traffic, and promised to assist Champlain with facilities for exploring their country westward. On the other hand, Champlain undertook to help them in their conflicts with the Iroquois. In pursuance of this agreement, the French, under Champlain, first intervened in Indian warfare. Returning to Quebec, Champlain procured reinforcements and supplies for his establishment from Pontegravé, who had by this time arrived at Tadoussac from France. Before the end of May, he set out again on his way up the river to join his Indian allies, and to accompany them into the country of their enemies, the Iroquois.

CHAPTER VI.

CHAMPLAIN'S THREE EXPEDITIONS AGAINST THE IROQUOIS—DISCOVERY OF THE COURSE OF THE RIVER RICHELIEU, OF LAKE CHAMPLAIN, AND LAKE GEORGE—BATTLE WITH THE IROQUOIS, AND BARBAROUS TREATMENT OF PRISONERS—SECOND EXPEDITION, AND BATTLE WITH THE IROQUOIS—ESTABLISHMENT OF TRADING STATION NEAR SAULT ST LOUIS, AND CONFERENCES WITH THE INDIANS—AFFAIRS OF THE COMPANY—ASCENT OF THE RAPIDS, AND VISIT TO THE OTTAWA REGION—CHAMPLAIN'S THIRD EXPEDITION AGAINST THE IROQUOIS—REPULSE AND RETREAT OF THE HURONS.

30. During the twenty-seven years following the foundation of Quebec, the history of the colony consists almost exclusively of the personal history of Champlain, its founder, upon whose own memoirs we are dependent chiefly for authentic information. They present details of romantic incidents, of courage, fortitude, and virtue, of

sagacity, and of indefatigable industry, of self-denial and patience, which will always entitle him to a high rank among the celebrated in the annals of mankind.

In pursuance of the alliance he had entered into with the aborigines of Canada, as well as for the purpose of extending his discoveries, he engaged in three different warlike expeditions into the country of the Iroquois, viz., in the years 1609, 1611, and 1615, the particulars of which must form the main subject of this chapter.

31. In his first expedition he passed with a body of *Algonquins* and *Montagnais* up the river Richelieu, which then, and subsequently, was the principal route followed by the Iroquois when making incursions into Canada. He discovered that this river formed the outlet of the waters of a beautiful lake, which he was the first of Europeans to behold, and which he called "Lake Champlain," after his own name. Further on he entered and crossed a smaller lake, then named "*Andiarocte*" by the Indians; subsequently "*St Sacrament*" by the French; and later still "*Lake George*" by the English. He was now in parts frequented by the Iroquois. According to Champlain's description, it was a region abounding in game, fish, beavers, bears, and other wild animals.

Not far from the site upon which, long afterwards, Fort *Ticonderoga* was constructed, the invaders fell in with a body of two hundred Iroquois, who were easily beaten and put to flight, chiefly owing to the chivalrous valour of Champlain, and the terror inspired by fire-arms used by him and his two attendant Frenchmen.

Here Champlain witnessed for the first time the cruelties and horrors attendant upon Indian warfare; and he appears to have exerted his utmost influence vainly in endeavouring to save the wounded and captive Iroquois from being tortured. To his indignant remonstrances the conquerors

turned a deaf ear, alleging that they were only inflicting upon their enemies the sufferings which their own people had often endured at their hands, and which were reserved for themselves should they ever fall into the power of the Iroquois. After this the allies made their way back to the St Lawrence, when the Hurons and Algonquins returned to their settlements towards the Ottawa region, while Champlain and the Montagnais descended the river to Quebec.

32. The battle with the Iroquois took place on July 30, 1609, so that upwards of two and a half months had been occupied in the campaign. In September following, Champlain set sail for France, accompanied by Pontegravé. Before he left Quebec he made all the arrangements in his power for the safety of those left to winter there. A trustworthy commander was appointed; and in order to prevent the necessity of outdoor labour during the time of severe cold, a supply of fuel was provided in the autumn; for it was supposed that exposure and hard work combined were among the causes of the terrible malady which had afflicted Champlain's people in the winter of 1608.

33. On his arrival in France, he reported his adventures and the condition of New France to the King, by whom he was treated with the utmost consideration and kindness. Nevertheless, owing to opposition and clamour, it was found impossible to bring about the renewal of the charter, which had expired.

In spite of this, De Monts succeeded in procuring the means of fitting out two vessels in the spring of 1610, in which Champlain and Pontegravé set sail from Harfleur about the middle of April, and arrived at Tadoussac on the 26th of May. At Quebec Champlain found his people in good health and undiminished numbers, the winter having been passed through without the endurance of any

particular hardship. His Indian allies, also, the Hurons, Algonquins, and Montagnais, were eagerly waiting for him to rejoin them in another attack upon the Iroquois.

34. In the middle of June, Champlain, with a few Frenchmen, left Quebec and proceeded up the St Lawrence to the mouth of the river Richelieu. A.D. 1610. Near to this, on ascending that river, and employing the services of scouts, it was found that a body of Iroquois had established themselves in a post fortified by means of great trees which had been felled, so that their branches, interlaced with each other, presented a strong wall of defence. The Algonquins and Montagnais immediately commenced an attack; when, although assisted by the French with their arquebuses, it was for a long time found impossible to force an entrance into the position. In the end, however, the Iroquois fled, leaving fifteen of their number prisoners. The conquerors had three killed and about fifty wounded, among whom was Champlain himself. Again was he compelled to witness the perpetration of the most revolting cruelties upon the unfortunate Iroquois captured by his allies, whom he could not restrain, although now regarded by them with feelings amounting to veneration.*

35. Champlain was now in a position to do something towards forwarding his own plans through the goodwill and assistance of the Hurons and Algonquins. To extend

* Champlain relates that they withdrew to one of the small islands opposite the mouth of the Richelieu, for the purpose of completing the celebration of their victory. Here the victors betook themselves to the ferocious pastime of torturing the captives, by means of every device familiar to the savage mind, and ended with exposing their still living bodies to the fire, and hacking them into small pieces, with the exception of a few who were reserved for the entertainment of the Huron women. Respecting these latter, it is added, that it was worse for the victims, since the female savages, converted into fiends on such occasions, excelled the men in ingenuity, and in the dexterity with which they applied various modes of torture.

the knowledge of the country westward, and to find out a passage through the continent to China, were to him as much objects of desire as they had been to Cartier before him. The Indian chiefs promised to furnish all the facilities he required; and they placed in his care a young Huron, whom he afterwards took to Paris. At the same time a young Frenchman was entrusted to a chief named *Iroquet*, for the purpose of learning the Algonquin language, and of visiting the lakes, rivers, and mines which were stated to exist in the interior of the country. When these arrangements had been made, Champlain and his allies parted. On arriving at Quebec he learned the sad intelligence of the death of his powerful friend and patron, King Henry IV., who had been assassinated three months before in the streets of Paris. Although the season was not far advanced he immediately took his departure for France, accompanied by Pontegravé.

A.D. 1611.

36. In the spring of 1611, Champlain returned to Canada.* During the winter, although it was now impossible to recover the exclusive privileges which had formerly been accorded to his company, he and Pontegravé had again succeeded in procuring the means of equipping several vessels. De Monts still enjoyed the title of *Lieutenant-General of New France*, but was greatly crippled in his resources and influence in consequence of the King's death, and the large expenses attendant on previous undertakings in connection with the establishments in Acadia, at Tadoussac, and Quebec. But the most discouraging circumstance, which now cut off all hope of redeeming his losses, was the virtual throwing open of the

* About the end of 1610, or early in 1611, Champlain, in Paris, espoused a very youthful lady, named Hélène Boullé, daughter of the King's private secretary. She was a Huguenot, though subsequently converted by her husband. She visited Canada in 1620, and remained about four years.

peltry trade in the St Lawrence, of which the traders belonging to French maritime ports availed themselves in considerable numbers; for when Champlain and Pontegravé arrived out at Tadoussac, towards the end of May, they found traders already there doing business with the savages, and that others had preceded them in the river above, as far as the rapids near Hochelaga. Champlain hastened to the latter place, with the determination of establishing there a trading station for the benefit of the company. Temporary structures were begun near the site of the future city of Montreal, ground was cleared, and seeds sown, in order to test the fruitfulness of the soil. He proposed to erect a fort on an island, called by him *St Helen's*, after the name of his wife.

Before returning to Quebec, Champlain held conferences with many savages, Algonquins and Hurons, who had come to the vicinity of the rapids. The young Frenchman who had gone with them the preceding season had made himself acquainted with their language, and was now able to act as an interpreter. Champlain restored to them the Indian whom he had taken to Paris, and also permitted two more Frenchmen to accompany the tribes on their return to their own settlements.

37. Champlain went to France before winter, and was there detained nearly two years by the affairs of the company. Although his zeal and his hopes of founding a colony never flagged, even De Monts retired from participation in further undertakings, owing to the uncertainties attendant upon the peltry traffic, and the losses incurred. It appears that Champlain deemed it indispensably necessary for the colony, and for the trading company with which it might be connected, to possess, as chief, some personage in France who had influence and rank at court; therefore, on the retirement of De Monts, the *Count de*

*Soissons** was applied to, and afterwards, the *Prince Henri de Condé.* Condé being created Viceroy of New France, Champlain was appointed his lieutenant.† Much time was then occupied in negotiations, with the object of effecting a compromise with the merchants and traders of Dieppe, St Malo, Rochelle, and Rouen. In the end some kind of arrangement was made, securing for the wants of the colony at Quebec a certain portion of the results of the fur traffic to be paid by traders; but it seems that no perfectly satisfactory arrangement was practicable at that time, owing to the state of affairs at the court of France, which would not renew the former exclusive privileges.

38. Early in May 1613, Champlain arrived at Quebec. A.D. 1613. The people whom he had left there in 1611 had passed the two preceding winters without any notable occurrence, and free from suffering or disease. After a short delay, he proceeded up the river to *Sault St Louis,* at the foot of the Rapids, where he expected to find many of his former Indian friends assembled in readiness for traffic. In fact, his mind was now intent upon a long journey of exploration westward, in company with some returning chiefs. But this season few Indians came, which Champlain attributed to misconduct on the part of the traders the previous year while he was absent in France. Taking with him two canoes, manned by four Frenchmen and an Indian guide, he contrived to pass the Rapids and to surmount all the other difficulties of a first

* Charles de Bourbon, Count de Soissons, undertook to become the head of the company of New France, and to sustain the establishment at Quebec, chiefly through religious motives. He nominated Champlain his lieutenant and agent, but died a few weeks after his appointment.

† This nomination of Champlain as lieutenant of the Viceroy of New France was dated October 15, 1612; hence, in lists of official functionaries of Canada, this date is frequently put as that on which the rule of *Governors* commenced, Champlain being set down as the first.

passage up the river Ottawa, until he arrived at *Isle Allumettes*, where resided a friendly chief named *Tessouat*, who received him with cordial hospitality, and celebrated his unexpected visit by giving a grand entertainment. Champlain requested canoes and people to conduct him and his attendants on the way to *Lake Nipissing*, whence, according to information of *Nicolas du Vignau*, who had passed the previous winter with Tessouat, there was a practicable route to the North Sea, from which, it was believed, the coveted passage to China would be found. We now know that only about five degrees or three hundred nautical miles intervened between the place where Champlain then was and the southernmost part of the great inland sea, *Hudson's Bay*, which had been discovered not long before by an English navigator,* and which Du Vignau asserted he had visited during the winter of 1612, by an overland route from the sources of the Ottawa. Champlain's hopes rose with this information, but before he could act upon it, Du Vignau was proved to be an impostor.† Champlain therefore, with reluctance, sorrowfully commenced his journey homewards to Quebec, whence, towards the latter part of August, he again sailed for France, in order to promote the interests of the colony, so

* *Henry Hudson*, in 1610. He was also the discoverer of the river *Hudson* in 1609, when in the service of Dutch merchants. On both these occasions, the object of his expeditions was *to discover a passage to China and the East Indies.* He never returned home from his voyage to Hudson's Bay, having been abandoned, along with his son and others, by his sailors, who mutinied against him.

† Du Vignau might have heard accounts of this inland sea, or "la mer du Nord," from Indians who had passed between its south shores and the head waters of the Ottawa; but Tessouat clearly disproved his assertion about his having visited it during his stay in that chief's quarters. Tessouat was so indignant on the subject that he called upon Champlain to have the delinquent, after he had confessed his falsehood, put to death as a punishment for deceit. Champlain, who was grievously disappointed, contented himself with mildly rebuking Du Vignau.

much dependent on the course of events in the mother country.

39. The mercantile affairs of the colony, and the negotiations into which Champlain entered for the purpose of providing for the conversion of the Indians as well as the religious wants of his own people, detained him in France until the spring of 1615. Innumerable obstacles hindered his projects, but at length he had the satisfaction of procuring the King's sanction, and that of the Viceroy, to the formation of a trading society, consisting of merchants of St Malo and Rouen. This was chartered for eleven years. In conjunction with the dispositions in behalf of the fur traffic, it was bound to take out missionaries to the heathen savages, and to assist in their maintenance. Champlain, as its agent, and as local Governor or Lieutenant of the Viceroy, was thus at last in a position to carry out one of his most cherished designs, namely, to introduce among the benighted savages of Canada some regular means of converting them to Christianity.*

A.D. 1615.

40. At length in April 1615, Champlain sailed from Harfleur with several vessels, having on board supplies for the colony, artisans and labourers, together with four persons of the religious order of Franciscans, called *Recollets*. The latter took out with them the appliances and ornaments that might be required for the use of portable chapels and places of worship in the wilderness, and which had been provided at the cost of religious persons in France.

41. Immediately on his arrival in Canada, about the beginning of June, he took steps for establishing regular religious services at the three principal trading posts—Quebec, Three Rivers, and Tadoussac — at the first of

* It was a motto of Champlain that "It was a more glorious thing to secure the salvation of one soul than to conquer an empire,"—"La salut d'une seule âme vaut mieux que la conquête d'un empire."

which places, a sort of council was held, consisting of himself, the four Recollets, and "*the most intelligent persons in the colony.*" The arrangements agreed upon comprised, in addition to dispositions of a permanent nature at the three principal localities named above, the sending forward one of the Recollets, *Joseph le Caron*, into the distant regions occupied by the Huron tribes, which, up to this time, had not been visited by any European.* Thus, under Champlain's auspices, were the first foundations laid for establishing in Canada the faith and services of the Church of Rome; and especially, in the first instance, for commencing the "*Missions to the Indians*," which have survived the vicissitudes of more than two centuries, and subsist to this day in forms and localities regulated by the progress of civilisation on this continent.

42. The year 1615 proved an eventful one for Champlain and for Canada, both on account of the additions made to the geographical knowledge of the interior, and the circumstances as well as consequences attendant upon his *third* warlike expedition against the Iroquois.

He started from Quebec, accompanied by Joseph le Caron, and, on reaching the vicinity of the rapids above Montreal, held a conference with Indians, amongst whom were a number of *Wyandots* (Hurons), who had come to meet him and to convey him to their own distant settlements in the north-west, for the purpose of assisting them in an incursion which they were about to make upon the country of the Iroquois. Le Caron was at once sent forward with some of the savages and about a dozen Frenchmen, Champlain himself following in a few days.

* Henceforward, the history of the colony, as well as that of the gradual extension of discovery westward, is inseparably associated with the proceedings of the religious missionaries, who were the real pioneers of French influence among the tribes of the interior.

He passed up the Ottawa, until, in about latitude 46° 20′, he reached the bend of the river where the small stream *Matawan* flows in, whence he proceeded westward, through several small lakes into *Lake Nipissing*. Thence he followed the route of *French River* into the *Georgian Bay* of Lake Huron. He next coasted eastward and southward, until he came to *Matchedash Bay;* when, on landing, he was informed by his Wyandot guides that he had arrived at the settlements of the Hurons, situated in a sort of peninsula lying between *Nottawasaga Bay* and the sheet of water now called *Lake Simcoe.**

To accomplish so protracted a journey from Quebec, along a route of full three hundred leagues, frequently carrying on their backs their canoes and baggage, wading through shallows over pointed rocks, sustained all the while by very limited supplies of coarse food, must have occasioned infinite fatigue and hardship to Champlain and his party of Frenchmen. Even the priest Le Caron, who, as has been stated, preceded him with another body of French and Indians, is recorded to have been obliged to participate in the most severe bodily labour, such as row-

* Shea, in his interesting "History of the American Catholic Missions," says:—"The nation known in Canada by the name of *Hurons* call themselves *Wendat*, and are now termed by us *Wyandots*. At the period when the French founded Quebec, they occupied a small strip of territory on a peninsula in the southern extremity of Georgian Bay, not exceeding in all seventy-five miles by twenty-four; a territory more circumscribed than that of any other American nation, for in these narrow limits, four tribes, containing at least 30,000 souls, lived in eighteen populous villages." And again, "This group, superior to the Algonquins in many respects, with well-built and strongly-defended towns, thriving fields of corn, beans, squashes, and tobacco, with active traders and brave warriors, always acquired a superiority over their neighbours." Their route to reach Sault St Louis and Three Rivers was along the west shore of Georgian Lake, French River, and the Ottawa; in fact, that long and painful one by which Champlain's guides conveyed him to the Huron settlements described in the text.

ing with all his might and pushing his way through rapids and thickets, burdened with a load, and ever hurrying onwards for fear of falling behind his savage escort. In those days, the courses of streams, from which, however, frequent short diversions* were necessary, formed the only lines of travel.

43. Champlain remained some time among the Hurons, chiefly staying at their principal town *Carhagouha* (*Cahiagué*), supposed to be the same as that afterwards called by the French *St Jean Baptiste*, and situated within the limits of the modern township *Orillia*. Throughout his journey in the Upper Ottawa region and the vicinity of Lake Huron, called by him *Mer Douce*, he constantly endeavoured to conciliate the good will of the numerous Indian tribes with whom he came into contact; among which may be mentioned the *Petuns, Nipissins, Ottawas*, Wyandots (Hurons), and Algonquins. At Carhagouha, he found the devoted priest Le Caron already established, and prepared to commence his religious labours, to the success of which, however, the study of the native tongue was considered indispensable.

In the meantime, preparations were made for the expe-

* Passages made along the banks or across intervening pathways through the forest skirting the rivers were called "*portages*." These were of various lengths, sometimes extending as far as seven or eight miles. They were necessarily had recourse to in order to avoid torrents and waterfalls, also to escape marching round bends of rivers where it was difficult or impossible to make canoes pass among the rocks; and, finally, to make good those parts of the route which lay between the waters of neighbouring streams and lakes. At the time of which we write, the whole region was nothing better than a vast wilderness, which in these days would be considered impassable. Champlain himself speaks of five *portages*, some of more than ten miles, as having subsequently been on his route between the sheet of water now called *Balsam Lake* and the shores of Ontario. The difficulties encountered by Champlain and the early missionaries of Canada cannot rightly be estimated by those who are only conversant with modern facilities of travel.

dition into the country of the Iroquois, to reach which it was necessary to undertake another long march to the north of Lake Ontario; and thence, passing to its south shore, to land within a moderate distance of their settlements. A distant tribe, hostile to the Iroquois, and called the *Andastes*, were notified to furnish 500 warriors, as they had previously promised.

44. Setting out from the Huron settlements, Champlain, with a few Frenchmen and several hundred Indians, crossed Lake Simcoe. Thence they marched to Lake Balsam, and followed the route of a chain of small lakes to the courses of the rivers *Otonabee* and *Trent*, until they arrived at Lake Ontario by the bay of *Quinté*. Instead of crossing the great lake, they passed round its eastern extremity, and, after a march of four or five days, came to the river now called *Oswego*, not far from the *bourgades* of the *Onondagas*, which seem to have formed the principal object of attack. Upwards of a month had been spent in effecting the march from the Huron settlements to the point of disembarkation on the south-east shore of Ontario, and then the invaders were full eighty miles distant from the intended field of operations. This distance, therefore, they would have to make good on their retreat to their canoes, should their designs fail.

As they neared the settlements of the Iroquois, they several times fell in with their outlying bands, and skirmishes occurred, resulting in victory to the invaders and the capture of prisoners. The customary cruelties ensued, the conquerors not sparing even women and children.*

45. On reaching one of the principal settlements, the

* Champlain again used his influence in preventing, as much as possible, the repetition of what he had formerly witnessed in the practices of his allies. Finding his interposition useless at first, he threatened to withdraw French aid; upon which, the wondering Hurons agreed to

invaders found their enemies much more strongly posted than they had looked for. The Hurons, however, were elated with the small successes they had already achieved, and, unfortunately for themselves, would not listen to Champlain's counsels when he recommended them to follow some definite plan of assaulting the strongholds of their foes.

It happened to be harvest-time, and the Iroquois were occupied in gathering in their crops of maize, melons, and pumpkins, about the second week of October, when the Huron forces approached the principal defensive post. This consisted of four rows of strong stakes, surmounted by heavy branches of trees, so arranged as to form a sort of impenetrable wall, on the top of which were placed wooden gutters, intended to conduct water to any part of the fortification in case of an attempt to burn them out. Within the palisades, which were thirty feet high, was a small pond, capable of furnishing any quantity of water which the besieged would be likely to require.

On the first alarm the Iroquois retired from their fields into their fortified post, and awaited the approach of their enemies. Had the Hurons left the direction of affairs to Champlain, they would, in due season, have made themselves masters of the position, since the fire-arms of the French and their own numbers afforded immense advantages to the attacking force. But they advanced in a heedless and desultory manner, as if confident of success, and without any concerted plans of assault. The first impressions created by the fire-arms of the French passed off after a time, and the disconnected endeavours of the Hurons to apply torches to the palisades, thwarted by a contrary

abstain from torturing women and children, but declared they would compensate themselves by their dealings with such of the Iroquois warriors as should fall into their power.

wind, and extinguished by the abundance of water poured out along the gutters, were easily resisted by the Iroquois within. The first assault was, in fact, completely repulsed with considerable loss to the besiegers, who were greatly injured by stones and arrows discharged against them. Champlain at length succeeded in persuading his allies to listen to his advice for a season. In the night time a lofty platform was constructed, on which the French with their arquebuses were posted, while a body of 300 Hurons were drawn up close to the palisades in readiness to renew the attempt at setting fire to the defences. The assault being recommenced, many of the Iroquois were shot down, and the parapet was cleared of defenders. Success seemed certain but for the opposition of the wind, which prevented fire from penetrating among the damp branches, and especially the disorder and disobedience of the savage assailants. With a degree of courage and of indifference to the terrors which hitherto had been inspired by European weapons of war, the Iroquois again manned their parapet, killing and wounding numbers of the enemy. Champlain himself was twice wounded, and compelled to remove from the front. The Hurons, becoming discouraged in proportion to their previous overweening confidence, retired out of reach of the missiles of the Iroquois. After a hasty council of war held by the Huron chiefs, it was decided to give up the conflict and retreat homewards in spite of the earnest remonstrances of their French allies. The reasons for adopting this sudden course appear to have been a conviction on the part of the Hurons that they were not strong enough to force the Onondaga fortress before its defenders should receive reinforcements from the other Iroquois cantons, while, in the meantime, the promised support of 500 Andastes warriors had not been furnished. Moreover, as the middle of October had passed, they had to encounter

a long and difficult march before the setting in of winter. In fact, before they reached the place where their canoes had been left, snowstorms and high winds occasioned much unforeseen suffering, especially to the wounded warriors. The invaders retreated to Lake Ontario on the same route by which they had reached the Iroquois settlements. Arrived at the place of embarkation on Lake Ontario, Champlain proposed to separate from the Hurons, and pursue his own way down the river St Lawrence to Sault St Louis and Quebec; but his allies would not assent, pretending that neither men nor suitable boats could be found to escort him and his French followers. He received their excuses with a good grace, and agreed to accept their hospitality until the following spring, the Hurons being particularly anxious to retain him amongst them, with the view of benefiting by his assistance in case the Iroquois should come to revenge themselves on account of the recent invasion of their territory. The retreat to Lake Ontario seems to have been conducted with far better discipline, and in better order, than the advance had been. The sick and disabled were placed in the centre, and tended with as much care as was possible under the circumstances. Scouts, to warn them of the vicinity of any enemy, were thrown out on both wings, while the bravest and most able-bodied of the warriors were disposed so as to guard the front and the rear of the retreating host. The route northwards from Ontario lay in the direction of *Rice Lake*, near the banks of which a considerable delay occurred in order to allow the Hurons opportunities of securing stores of fish and of game, with which the region abounded, for their winter use. The return to Carhagouha was not accomplished before the 23d day of December. Thus ended Champlain's third and most celebrated expedition against the Iroquois. It had proved unsuccessful as regards its

immediate objects. In its consequences it proved highly disastrous to the Huron nation, for, with trifling intermissions, during the ensuing thirty-five years, the Iroquois, more vindictively than before, prosecuted a war of extermination against them, until they utterly destroyed their settlements, and put an end to their existence as a distinct people. The part which Champlain and the French had taken in furnishing active assistance in war to the Hurons and Algonquins, had the effect of throwing the Iroquois into closer alliances with the Dutch and other European colonists, by whom they were in course of time supplied with fire-arms, to the infinite injury of the Canadian Indians.

CHAPTER VII.

CHAMPLAIN'S SOJOURN IN THE HURON COUNTRY—IMPORTANT VIEWS ENTERTAINED IN THE COLONY RELATIVE TO ITS WANTS—ARRIVAL OF THE FIRST EMIGRANT FAMILY—PERILOUS CONDITION OF THE COLONY DURING CHAMPLAIN'S ABSENCE—INDIAN CONSPIRACY—DUC DE MONTMORENCY VICEROY—CHAMPLAIN'S POWERS EXTENDED—ARRIVAL OF MADAME CHAMPLAIN—REPAIRS AND IMPROVEMENTS AT QUEBEC—FORT ST LOUIS COMMENCED—CAUSES OF ANXIETY—RIVAL COMPANIES AND DIFFICULTIES—SERVICES OF LE CARON AND SAGARD—TREATY OF PEACE—SLOW PROGRESS OF THE COLONY—RELIGIOUS DEPUTIES TO FRANCE—DEPARTURE OF MADAME CHAMPLAIN—EMERY DE CAËN COMMANDANT AT QUEBEC.

46. During the winter of 1615 and the following spring, Champlain occupied himself in holding intercourse with all the Indian tribes whose settlements were accessible to him from Carhagouha, where his headquarters were established

in the lodge of a chief named *Darontal*. In his visits he contrived to conciliate the natives everywhere, having in view the twofold purpose of their conversion to Christianity and the founding of alliances which might subsequently prove useful to the French in regard to trade and the extension of geographical discovery. The Hurons endeavoured in vain to induce him to accompany them upon another incursion into the country of the Iroquois. At length, in June 1616, he set out with Joseph le Caron, most of his French followers, and a number of friendly Indians, on his return to Quebec, A.D. 1616. leaving behind a few of his countrymen to perfect themselves in the native dialects. His people at Quebec had inferred from his long-continued absence that he was dead, and were, on this account, the more rejoiced to see him back amongst them in vigorous health, and as full as ever of projects for promoting the welfare and advancement of the colony.

47. In view of its further progress, Champlain saw that the colony required for a foundation something beyond mere trading interests. People and supplies on a larger scale than heretofore were necessary, and especially the introduction of families to depend upon the clearing and cultivation of the lands for a subsistence. The Recollets urged the need of means for establishing a seminary for the instruction of Indian children. Those of the inhabitants whom Champlain consulted entertained the opinions of himself and the priests, recommending that measures should be taken to augment the number of residents, to throw open to all Frenchmen the peltry trade with the savages, to exclude Huguenots, to support the religious missions that had been commenced, and to render the natives stationary in their habits of life, as well as to accustom them, if possible, to French customs and laws. In adopt-

ing these important views, we behold Champlain striving to emerge from the position of a mere commercial company's factor, and assuming the proper functions of governor in behalf of the infant colony which he had founded. To give them effect, it was necessary to visit France and enlist the active sympathies of the court, and of persons whose zeal and wealth might accomplish the desired results. Two of the Recollets accompanied him home. About sixty men, constituting the whole population of Quebec, remained to pass the winter of 1616, somewhat straitened in regard to supplies for their use, during Champlain's absence.

48. In France, although he was hindered by the usual difficulties and by serious disputes relative to the Company's affairs, Champlain's efforts, supported by the representations of the two Recollets, met with some slight success. He was furnished with fresh supplies for his colony, and some people, amongst whom was a family named *Hebert*.* But the passage backwards to Canada was, most unfortunately, not only dangerous, but very protracted, so that on his arrival at Quebec the stock of provisions was almost exhausted. Moreover, bad news awaited him there. Food had become extremely scarce, and his people would have all perished through famine but for the resources procured by fishing and hunting; and the latter had already begun to fail them owing to the want of gunpowder. Their evil condition had been further increased by the scurvy, which left many so enfeebled that they could scarcely move about. During

A.D. 1617.

* Louis Hebert was originally an apothecary of Paris, whose particular tastes, however, led him to practice agriculture. He had been one of the Port-Royal adventurers under Poutrincourt, and there acquired experience in cultivating ground. On the failure of the Acadian enterprise he had returned to France. He is in every sense entitled to the honourable designation of the "first *emigrant* to Canada."

these dark days Champlain was almost the only person who did not entirely despair of the existence of the colony. Believing he could further its interests, at that critical period, more powerfully in France than at Quebec, where, just then, it was impossible to put forward any schemes of improvement, he re-embarked for the mother country early in the autumn.

49. While Champlain was busily exerting himself to procure supplies of food, ammunition, and other necessaries, and in endeavouring to induce artisans and labourers to go out, the members of the Company and the court manifested extreme indifference in regard to his colonising projects. The former cared only for traffic, and the latter were far from deeming it expedient to encourage the actual settlement of the country by emigrants. The chief of the Company, the Viceroy Henri de Condé, had been confined in prison since 1616, and, although never a very active promoter of Champlain's views, was now unable to render him any service whatever. Under these untoward circumstances he could only resign himself to the force of events, in the hope of more auspicious days. He remained in France, but despatched such supplies and assistance as he could procure, for the use of his people at Quebec. An attempt, happily ineffectual, had even been made by some political partisans and mercantile persons to cause Champlain to be superseded by his friend and commercial coadjutor Pontegravé. A.D. 1618.

50. During the winter of 1618, the colony was reduced to the very verge of extinction through the defection of its fickle allies, the Indians. The station at Three Rivers had become to them a great place of resort; and while many hundreds of savages were assembled there, a quarrel occurred at Quebec between some Indians and colonists, the particulars of which have not been very clearly trans-

mitted. But the result was similar to that which had been experienced in the time of Jacques Cartier, for the Indians became discontented and hostile, manifesting a disposition to take advantage of the helplessness of the handful of Europeans established in their midst. Two Frenchmen were murdered, and this outrage was followed by a conspiracy, which was entered into by the Indians at Three Rivers, with the object of consummating the destruction of the entire colony. The Recollet brother *Duplessis* discovered the plot, and, while the French at Quebec remained closely shut up in their fort, contrived to disconcert it. In the end, the savages, who seem to have had originally no very serious cause of offence, proposed a reconciliation, which was acceded to by the French, on condition that the case of the murderers should be decided on Champlain's return, and that in the meantime hostages should be given.

51. Champlain's absence continued for the space of about three years, as he did not return to Quebec until July 1620. By this time the course of events had taken a favourable turn. The Viceroy Condé regained his liberty, and, in consideration of a sum of money, surrendered his vice-royalty in favour of the *Duke of Montmorency*, a godson of the late King. Montmorency confirmed Champlain in his post of Lieutenant-General, and the King himself, Louis XIII., favoured him with royal letters,* expressing his recognition of the appoint-

A.D. 1620.

* "Champlain, having been apprised of the command conferred on you by my cousin Montmorency, Admiral of France, and my Viceroy in New France, to proceed to that country as his Lieutenant there, to take charge of my service, I desire to write to you this letter, in order to assure you that I shall favourably regard the services you may render me in this behalf; above all, if you maintain the country in submission to me, causing the people there to live as much as possible conformable to the laws of my kingdom, and having regard to the Catholic religion, to the end that by this means you may bring down upon yourself the divine blessing, which will make your enterprises and actions redound to the glory of God, of

ment, and of his services. Thus fortified, and charged by the new Viceroy to return to Quebec and improve the defences of the colony, Champlain induced a number of persons to embark with him for the purpose of settling in the country. He himself arranged all his private affairs, and took out with him his wife and several relations.

52. The return of Champlain, accompanied by Madame Champlain, then only twenty-two years of age, was celebrated at Quebec with all the manifestations of rejoicing and of respect that it was possible for the people to evince. It was an epoch in the history of the colony. The Indian savages were especially delighted with the amiable demeanour and the beauty of Madame Champlain,* who at once set about learning their language, and in many ways testified her concern in their welfare. She soon became able to instruct their children, using their native tongue,

whom I pray that He may have you in His holy keeping.—Paris, May 7, 1620.—*Lovis.*"

This letter was followed by another:—"Champlain, I have seen, by your letters of the 15th August, with what zeal you labour for the welfare of your establishments yonder, and in all that concerns the good of my service, towards which I know your good disposition, so that I shall have pleasure in recognising this for your own advantage when occasion offers; and I have willingly granted you some munitions of war which have been requested of me, to afford you always better means of subsistence, and to continue in your good work, in regard to which I assume the continuance of your care and fidelity.—Paris, 24th Feb. 1621.—*Lovis.*"

These letters were copied into Champlain's own memoirs—and are here transcribed from a chart published at Quebec, and containing the lithographed autographs of the French and English governors of Canada. They clearly establish Champlain's title to the rank of the first governor of the colony, dating from the year 1620. In the chart referred to, his governorship is made to date from the year 1612, when he was named Lieutenant of the Viceroy Prince Henri de Condé.

* According to the custom of the ladies of that time, Madame Champlain wore a small mirror suspended from her girdle. The untutored natives who approached her were astonished at perceiving themselves reflected from the glass, and circulated among themselves the innocent conceit that she cherished in her heart the recollection of each one of them.

in the principles of the Catholic religion; for, though formerly a Huguenot, she was now a devout adherent of the Church to which her husband belonged. Champlain found the edifices at Quebec in a dilapidated condition, so that his first care was to effect repairs on the magazine, the old fort, and other buildings, as well as to provide temporary quarters for his family. Steps were also taken for commencing a structure extensive enough to afford protection to all the inhabitants and the interests of the Company, in case of serious attack from any enemy, and so situated as to command the harbour. The site chosen was that now known as "Durham Terrace," where, subsequently, when Champlain's design was practically carried out, the famous Fort St Louis stood—the residence and official headquarters of many governors of Canada.

The Recollets had already, before Champlain's return, laid the foundation of their convent near to the river St Croix (St Charles), on the site now occupied by the *General Hospital*. The materials required in the construction of permanent works in those days were not easily procured, since *lime* and *slate* had to be imported from France.*

53. Champlain might have now enjoyed a period of comparative repose but for two causes of anxiety which soon pressed themselves upon his attention. The first of these was, his knowledge of the cruel state of war subsisting between the Iroquois and the natives of Canada. In 1620 the former made incursions in considerable force, and, although few or none of them at that time approached

* Before their convent was completed, the discovery of *limestone* in the country enabled the Recollets to procure lime on the spot, and they caused a kiln to be built for the burning of the stone.

It is said that the slate used in roofing some of the ancient religious houses in Montreal, and still to be seen answering its original purpose in that city, was brought out from France about thirty years after the period of which we now write.

Quebec, they pressed hard upon the Algonquins higher up the river, and lay in wait for his former allies, the Hurons, whom they slaughtered without mercy as they descended with the products of the chase for the purpose of trading with the French at Three Rivers, Quebec, and Tadoussac. The injury to French interests, apart from the necessity for being always on the alert to defend themselves in case of attack from these barbarians, may be imagined. Champlain, as the only recourse open to him, made appeals to the Company and to the court of France for succour.

54. The other cause arose out of the news which reached Quebec of fresh dissensions relative to the peltry trade, and which gave birth to the project of a rival Company, headed by *William de Caën* and his nephew *Emery*. Although the old Company, established under the vice-royalty of Condé, had also been sanctioned by his successor Montmorency, yet it neglected to fulfil its obligations, both in regard to settling the country and providing for religion. Montmorency, therefore, with the King's approval, accorded privileges to the new society, and orders were sent out to Champlain, in his capacity of Lieutenant-General of the Viceroy, to recognise its claims. Meanwhile his old friend Pontegravé, representing the old Company, arrived off Quebec about the same time as the agents of the Caëns. Difficulties, injurious to the welfare of the colony, were occasioned by the prosecution of the claims of both parties to exclusive rights in the peltry traffic, which induced the inhabitants to make a special appeal to the King in their own behalf. The result was a decision, in the year 1622, in virtue of which the two Companies were united into one, designated, "The Company of Montmorency." Privileges were accorded to it for the space of twenty-two years, but permission was given at the same time

A.D. 1621.

to all the King's subjects to become members of it, and to participate in its expenses and profits. In the charter provision was made securing Champlain's precedence and authority as governor over all within the colony; also for furnishing a revenue for the payment of his appointments and retinue, and of a certain number of families of artisans and labourers. For the maintenance of religion, it was stipulated that the Company should support six Recollet priests, of whom two might be engaged in missions among the Indian tribes or in prosecuting discoveries. An end was thus put to dissensions by which the colony had been disturbed.

A.D. 1622.

55. In the course of 1622 and the following year, several additional priests and brothers of the order of Recollets came out to Canada, amongst whom was *Gabriel Sagard*, the historian, who, along with Le Caron, departed as missionaries into the Huron settlements beyond Lake Simcoe. These two priests rendered most valuable services to the colony in becoming the influential promoters of peace with the Iroquois in 1624. They had laboured to confirm in the minds of the Huron people a disposition to come to terms with their fierce adversaries, between whom and themselves unceasing hostilities had been waged ever since the period of Champlain's third and unsuccessful expedition against the cantons. The war had proved harassing to all the parties concerned—the French, the Iroquois, the Hurons, the Algonquins, and minor tribes—and all were more or less inclined to accede to proposals for a general cessation of strife. Caron and Sagard accompanied a flotilla of sixty Huron canoes down the Ottawa and St Lawrence to Three Rivers, at which place, in the presence of Champlain, it was intended to agree upon and ratify a general treaty. On the way to this rendezvous they were joined by twenty-five canoes

A.D. 1624.

bearing the Iroquois deputies and thirteen of the Algonquins. The preliminaries having been arranged, happily without the occurrence of quarrels so likely to take place in such a concourse of individuals belonging to different nations, the ceremonies and customary distribution of presents were followed by a mutual interchange of stipulations, rendered intelligible to all by means of interpreters. The final result was a treaty of peace, to which the chief contracting parties were the French, the Hurons, the Algonquins, and the Iroquois, who agreed, thenceforward, to remain on peaceable terms with each other. The peace thus established was not of long duration.

56. In the meantime, the improvements projected by Champlain in 1620 were steadily prosecuted. Very extensive repairs and additions to former structures, and a number of new ones, were completed or in progress. The De Caëns and the governor, notwithstanding the difference of their religious views, continued throughout to discharge their respective functions in a manner that denoted mutual respect and personal friendship. Yet, from whatever cause, the number of inhabitants, exclusive of a few factors or agents at the trading posts, and the Frenchmen, who, from choice, had taken up their abodes amongst the Indian tribes,* remained less than *sixty*. In fact, every person who bestowed a transient thought upon Canada, placed a very low estimate upon it as a country fit for settlement, excepting Champlain himself, whose faith in the future of his colony seems never to have wavered.

57. In August 1624, Champlain made arrangements

* When Le Caron, who, it will be recollected, was with Champlain at the distant Huron settlements in 1615, returned to them along with Sagard in 1623, he and his companion were astonished to find seven or eight Frenchmen living with the savages, familiar with their language, and conforming themselves to the habits and usages of the Indians.

for revisiting France, where fresh dissensions had arisen in regard to the Company's rights and privileges. His chief purpose was to again urge at home an appeal for a more generous support in behalf of his undertakings. The Recollets, also, having found themselves utterly unequal to the occupation of their immense and constantly increasing field of missionary work, had determined to appeal for aid to some of the religious communities of France; and, with this view, deputed Sagard and a priest to sail for Europe in the suite of the governor.

Before his departure Champlain nominated the younger De Caën commandant at Quebec during his absence, and gave instructions that the works in progress should be prosecuted with the utmost vigour, especially the completion of the Fort St Louis.

These preparations being made, he set sail on the 15th of August 1624, accompanied by his wife* and the two Recollet deputies.

* This amiable person's sojourn at Quebec had continued about four years, when she decided upon availing herself of this opportunity of quitting the colony and returning to her native land.

We cannot regard as unimportant, even in a historical point of view, the circumstances attendant upon her visit. She was the first *lady* to set foot upon the soil of Canada, and, in the then rude state of things, must have found herself exposed, during her residence there, to the endurance of many inconveniences amounting to actual hardships in the case of one who had been tenderly nurtured in the midst of the refinements of polite society in Paris. Animated by devotion to her husband, and the pious desire to make herself useful in teaching religion to Indian children, she had encountered the trials of an ocean voyage, followed by the privations which one in her position must have experienced from the rigorous winters and various deficiencies, and even dangers, incidental to colonial life at Quebec in those days. It was during her sojourn, in September 1622, that a fleet of thirty canoes, manned by Iroquois, approached as near as possible to the Fort, into which all the women and children in the place fled for refuge, Champlain and most of his men being absent at the time; and, although the barbarians contented themselves with making a feeble attack upon the Recollet establishment near St Charles river,

The people left at Quebec under the charge of Emery de Caën were reduced, by the departure of Champlain and his suite, to fifty souls.

CHAPTER VIII.

COMPLAINTS AGAINST THE COMPANY—JESUIT MISSIONARIES SENT OUT—CHAMPLAIN'S NEW COMMISSION—SCARCITY AT QUEBEC—SURRENDER TO SIR DAVID KIRKT.

58. CHAMPLAIN, detained in France two years, unceasingly and courageously advocated the claims of his colony, in spite of the interested opposition he encountered, as well as the condition of public affairs, which, at that time, were not auspicious to his objects. His highly honourable disposition would not permit him to have recourse to any concealment

which was easily repulsed, the incident was calculated to inspire Madame Champlain with a lively sense of the insecurity of her position. Her husband and her favourite brother, *Eustache Boullé*, who was then employed in the Company's affairs, were necessarily often absent on the business of the Colony, and it was only in regard to such occasions, when left without their society, that she herself ever alluded to disadvantages to which she may have felt herself subjected. On consulting such records of her life as we have had access to, we find no other cause of complaint emanating from one who was remarkable for her gentle and uncomplaining nature.

We are left to conjecture what were the direct effects of her influence and teachings upon the youthful Indian mind and habits. But we may safely assume that the example of her devotion and courage was not lost, since, in after years, not a few accomplished and delicate ladies came out from France to make Canada the theatre of their noble self-sacrifice in behalf of religion and the service of the colony.

She survived her husband many years, having retired, soon after his decease in 1635, to an Ursuline establishment in her native country, where she died in 1654.

or excuses in behalf of the Company's neglect to fulfil its obligations. With the very same causes of complaint which, three years before, had led to the suppression of the previous Company's charter and privileges in the interests of the colonists, he probably expected a similar result to follow on his present representations, supported by those of Le Caron and Sagard. Apart from certain considerations affecting religion, the principal points on which those representations were grounded were as follows:—That the Company had neglected, or were unable, to maintain the fort and establishment at Quebec on a proper footing, and had not erected new forts when necessary; that husbandmen, artizans, and labourers were not encouraged by it, or imported into the country; that it had not sufficiently contributed to the means of employing officers and soldiers for the defence of the colony and its allies; and, finally, that it failed to provide adequately for the support of a corps of religious missionaries, so that those already on duty in the colony were forced to have recourse to other sources of aid in their work. In regard to these various matters, Champlain, on the occasion of his present visit to France, could not succeed in obtaining much relief. But his endeavours certainly prepared the way for the important changes which were effected about three years afterwards.

59. Some changes, however, did occur at this time in the organisation of the existing Company. Montmorency, disgusted with the perpetual dissensions which prevailed amongst its members, sold his interest in the concerns of New France, together with his vice-royalty, to his nephew, the *Duc de Ventadour*. This nobleman was influenced in the transaction by religious motives and a desire to aid in promoting the conversion of the savages. He therefore listened favourably to the appeal of Le Caron and Sagard, and not only approved of their plan of applying to the

Jesuits for assistance to carry on the missions in Canada, but contributed from his private resources to their support. He also obtained the King's sanction of his assumption of the vice-royalty and the employment of Jesuits, who were objectionable in the eyes of those members of the Company who were Huguenots. These entertained no objections to the poor Recollets, but dreaded the influence of Jesuits, because, having friends at court, they could always make their remonstrances reach the ears of the King and his advisers.

60. Under the auspices of Ventadour, it was immediately arranged that several Jesuit priests and brothers should go out to Canada, to be followed by others according as their services might be required. The Jesuit order in France, which received the application for assistance through the Recollets of Paris, placed no obstacles in the way, but, on the contrary, responded in a manner which evinced their satisfaction at the demand. Five of the order,* together with an additional Recollet priest, embarked for Quebec on board of one of M. de Caën's vessels, in the spring, and arrived at their destination in June 1625. A.D. 1625.

Champlain, however, who on principle disapproved of the intermixture of Catholics and Huguenots as coadjutors in attempts to establish colonial settlements, was desirous that some further provisions should be adopted in regard to religious matters. He caused his own representations

* Amongst these were the noted *Charles Lallemant*, subsequently the intimate friend and spriritual adviser of Champlain, and *Jean de Brebœuf*, a man of commanding presence and gigantic stature, the most remarkable, perhaps, of the Canadian missionaries, amongst whom he was distinguished by his superior tact, intellect, and extraordinary services, as well as his tragical death on the 16th of March 1649.

In the course of ten years from 1625, the number of Jesuit missionaries sent out to Canada was fifteen, who were in addition to the Recollet priests and brothers.

on the subject, together with those of Le Caron, to reach the King. The De Caëns made no scruple of employing Catholics and Huguenots indiscriminately in the navigation of their ships, or in the business of the peltry traffic with the Indians on the St Lawrence. Champlain and Le Caron represented that, on occasions, the other employés were unfairly dealt with by the Huguenots, both on board ship and on shore; and especially that, through an improperly exercised influence, the Indians themselves were rendered less amenable to the instructions of their Catholic preceptors, and that, from these sources unnecessary evils proceeded.* In consequence of these representations the King gave orders directing De Caëns to place a Catholic in command of their vessels trading to Canada.

61. During his stay in France, Champlain's authority as local governor at Quebec was confirmed by the renewal of his commission, and thus strengthened, so far as this could be done by mere words, unaccompanied by material means of exercising it. The new commission invested him in explicit terms with authority "to build forts, to appoint officers for the administration of justice, to cause the King's ordinances to be observed, to make war and peace with the savages, to discover a way by the West to the realm of China and the East Indies;" . . . . and finally, "to exercise all the powers of a viceroy in behalf of His Most Christian Majesty." †

* The De Caëns themselves were on friendly terms with Champlain, as has been already stated. The latter expressed himself, nevertheless, dissatisfied with the elder De Caën's indifference about many things which he, at any rate, regarded as important, and as falling within the range of De Caën's duty. It is improbable that he and De Caën ever discussed religious questions between themselves on abstract grounds. His confidence in Emery de Caën was exemplified by his making the latter his deputy at Quebec during his own absence from 1624 to 1626.

† The contrast presented, on comparing the terms of this document with the extremely feeble state of his command at Quebec, at the very

62. Champlain, having accomplished all that seemed at that time attainable in France, returned to Quebec in the summer of 1626, accompanied by the priest Le Caron, and his brother-in-law, Boullé, as his lieutenant. A.D. 1626.

He found the works scarcely advanced beyond the condition in which he had left them two years before. His people also were in a somewhat enfeebled condition. They had been ill-supplied with necessaries the preceding season, owing to the neglect of the Company to furnish what was requisite for their comfort and plentiful support during the winter of 1625. On inquiry relative to the small progress made on the repairs and new buildings, and especially on Fort St Louis, it appeared that the blame did not rest with the workpeople, as they had been constantly interrupted by the Company's agents, who required their services elsewhere for *haying* and other purposes during most of the fine weather.* As regarded Fort St Louis, Champlain de-

time when this commission was signed by the Court of France, makes one feel at a loss whether to smile at the inconsistency or to condemn a transaction which amounted, substantially, to culpable trifling with so great and good a man as Samuel de Champlain.

Nor can it be pleaded in extenuation that there was even an intention to support him conformably to the terms of his commission; for in less than two years complaints were brought from Canada to Ventadour that Champlain and his people were suffering from want of the necessaries of life, and about two years later still, he was forced to surrender Quebec, and with it "*New France*," to Commodore Kirkt. On this last occasion there was a lack of all necessaries and means of defence—food, ammunition, men, of whom he had not a score of able-bodied under his command; whereas, with a couple of hundred resolute followers, having provisions and materials for the guns, he could not have failed to make a successful resistance.

* In the vicinity of Cap Tourmente, about thirty miles below the city, on the left bank of the St Lawrence, there was a tract of *interval* land, or natural meadow, yielding grass from year to year in abundance and without cultivation, where the agents of the Company were in the habit of procuring fodder for the animals wintered at Quebec. At the proper season workpeople were sent down to cut the grass, and, when dried, to make it

cided that the operations had been begun on too small a scale. He therefore proceeded to lay out the foundations and enclosures so as admit of the erection of a more spacious structure than had been previously projected, and set his people diligently at work upon this undertaking. Also, to avoid future hindrances and loss of time from the other cause named above, he directed sheds to be constructed at Cap Tourmente, and sent the cattle down thither.

63. In the meantime, the Jesuits, who had come out the year before, were industriously engaged in providing for their own wants. Sagard relates that their arrival at Quebec had been preceded by the circulation of reports to their disadvantage, so that when they made their appearance, in June 1625, they were very coolly received. No one, at first, offered them shelter, and, it is said, they were on the point of availing themselves of De Caën's proposal to convey them home to France, when the Recollets came forward and tendered them accommodation in their quarters near the river St Charles.*

into bundles for transport up the river. Much time and labour were expended in this work. Subsequently animals were kept there in numbers to graze.

* Soon after the Jesuits took up their abode with the Recollets, they chose a site for themselves in the neighbourhood, close to the confluence of the small river *Lairet* with the St Charles. A tract of land adjacent was granted to them as a *seignory* in the following spring. They lost no time in beginning to clear the surface of trees and stones, and preparing it for immediate cultivation. They, as did also the Recollets, worked with their own hands. The Jesuits were not, like the Franciscans, a mendicant order, and those who first came to Quebec were possessed of ample funds for paying workpeople for building, and for discharging expenses of equipments, &c., for missionary work. By a deed of gift, dated March 15, 1626, the Marquis de Gamanche assigned for their use the sum of 48,000 livres, besides 3000 livres per annum. During the ensuing twenty years the Jesuits of Quebec received for missionary and other purposes an amount of at least 150,000 livres (a large sum in those days, equal perhaps to 1,000,000 now), furnished by pious and benevolent persons in France. The livre may be taken as a *franc*, or tenpence sterling.

64. Notwithstanding the exertions which had been made by Champlain to prevent a recurrence of the former sufferings of the colony, owing to the neglect of the Company, he and his people were doomed to struggle on precisely as heretofore. Scarcely any land had been cleared, so that it was impossible by means of agriculture alone to provide against famine in the winter. Nevertheless the requisite supplies were furnished by the Company's agents in the most niggardly manner.

65. It is stated that considerable profits continued to be derived by them each season from the traffic on the St Lawrence. But this appears to have exercised no influence in the way of inducing a more liberal treatment of the colonists. The attention of the Court of France was fully absorbed by the war then being waged against her subjects in rebellion, who were encouraged and assisted by her foreign enemies. The Company could therefore disregard its engagements, and the stipulations in behalf of Champlain and his people, with apparent impunity. Its neglect became worse and worse, until, in the winter of 1626, there was an actual dearth of provisions at Quebec. In the spring of 1627, De Caën's vessels brought out, as usual, a certain supply of necessaries. But when the summer had passed away, and autumn came, although the season of traffic had been very profitable, the ships departed, leaving the establishments in the colony very insufficiently provisioned. The colony contained but one farmer—*Louis Hebert**—who could maintain himself and those dependent on him by the cultivation of the ground. But about fifty persons† had to endure the rigours of the winter of 1627

A.D. 1627.

* He died in the course of this season. Champlain, in his memoirs, mentions him with approbation and respect.

† Sometime during the previous summer the company of Jesuits in France had provided supplies of all kinds for their establishment at Quebec, with which a vessel was loaded. But De Caën, considering this

on short allowance; and such became their plight, that even Champlain's patience and powers of endurance were severely exercised. When at length the arrival of spring afforded some sources of relief, derived from hunting and fishing, Champlain and his unfortunate colonists at Quebec were amazed to find that De Caën's ships came not as usual with succours. With infinite anxiety they contrived to subsist until the month of July, when it became known that the river below the Island of Orleans was in possession of the English, at that time enemies to France. In fact, on the 10th of July 1628, Champlain received a summons from Sir David Kirkt, then at Tadoussac, with several ships under his command, to surrender the fort and station of Quebec. Notwithstanding his weakness, which would have prevented him from offering any effectual resistance had Kirkt followed up his summons by an attack upon the place, Champlain responded with dignity and firmness, declaring that he would defend his post. Kirkt, therefore, for the present, deferred his hostile intentions upon Quebec, and contented himself with adopting measures to intercept supplies and succour from France.

A.D. 1628.

66. Cut off from communication with France, Champlain exhorted his now isolated band of priests, colonists, and labourers, to follow his own example of patience and courage. A single small ship, with very scanty supplies, succeeded in making its passage good through the English

a violation of his lawful rights, caused an embargo to be placed on this ship, so that it did not leave France. Lallemant and the other Jesuits in Canada, foreseeing a scarcity of food during the ensuing winter, procured a vessel at Tadoussac, and transported to France all the workpeople in their employment, thus relieving the colony as much as possible. This left Champlain with about fifty dependents, for whose support, before the winter ended, only a few ounces of food per day could be allowed to each person.

vessels to Quebec, with intelligence that at least ten months must elapse before adequate succour from France could be expected to reach the harbour. To cope with the present emergency, and to prevent absolute starvation, measures were taken to crop all the cleared ground in the neighbourhood. At the same time recourse was had to hunting and fishing for the purpose of collecting food for the ensuing winter, and Champlain's brother-in-law, Eustache Boullé, was despatched with a small vessel and twelve men down to Gaspé, in the hope of falling in with French fishing vessels and procuring intelligence and assistance.* Some steps were also taken for obtaining aid from the Abnaquis. These responded favourably, promising to furnish maintenance sufficient for about three-fifths of Champlain's people until succour should arrive. The other Indians, however, the Montagnais and Algonquins, took advantage of the emergency, and manifested, both in demeanour and hostile acts, their enmity to the French.

67. Having contrived to sustain a precarious existence up to the middle of July 1629, the French witnessed, instead of the expected fleet from France, the English, under Louis and Thomas Kirkt, brothers of Sir David, who remained at Tadoussac, making their appearance off Point Levi. Provisions were very scarce, as well as ammunition and all other means of defence; and there seemed to be no prospect of immediate succour. He had with him only sixteen persons who could in any sense be styled comba- A.D. 1629.

* It appears that Boullé succeeded in reaching the Gulf, where he encountered a vessel commanded by Emery de Caën, who informed him that a fleet from France was on its way out, and furnished supplies of provisions. On his return up the river, Boullé had the great misfortune to be captured by a large English vessel, and from some of his crew the English extorted information of the state of things at Quebec, by which they were induced to determine upon an early attack on the place.

tants. An officer landed, bringing with him very liberal terms, upon which Champlain and his followers might honourably surrender a post which, in their circumstances, was utterly untenable. Champlain and Pontegravé, who was present, acceded, and the conditions having been ratified by Sir David Kirkt at Tadoussac, the English, without resistance, took possession of the fort, magazine, and habitations of Quebec. Before actually yielding up his post, the high-minded Champlain went on board the vessel of Captain Louis Kirkt, and stipulated for the security of the place of worship and quarters of the Jesuits and Recollets, as well as for the protection of the property of the widow Hebert and her son-in-law, *Couillard*. On the 24th of July 1629, Champlain and the priests, together with all who chose to depart, embarked on board the vessel of Thomas Kirkt, and after some delay at Tadoussac, were carried to England, and thence suffered to pass into France.*

Thus ended, for the time, Champlain's effort to found

* When Champlain, accompanied by Pontegravé, went on board Louis Kirkt's vessel, on the 20th, he demanded to be shown the commission from the King of England in virtue of which the seizure of the country was made. The two, as being persons whose reputation had spread throughout Europe, were received with profound respect; and after Champlain's request relative to the commission had been complied with, it was stipulated that the inhabitants should leave with their arms and baggage, and be supplied with provisions and means of transport to France. About four days were needed to procure the sanction of the Admiral, David Kirkt, at Tadoussac, and then Champlain, with a heavy heart, attended by his followers, embarked in the English ship. He says in his memoirs—"Since the surrender every day seems to me a month." On the way down the St Lawrence, Emery de Caën was met, above Tadoussac, in a vessel with supplies for Quebec. Kirkt is said to have desired Champlain to use his influence with De Caën to induce him to surrender without resistance, which, however, the noble-minded man declined. Bazilli was reported to be in the Gulf with a French fleet, but nevertheless De Caën felt obliged to surrender, as the Kirkts had two ships to oppose his one. De Caën told Champlain that he believed peace was already signed between the two crowns.

and establish a colony at Quebec—an attempt persevered in during twenty years, in spite of discouragement and obstacles which would have conquered the zeal of any man of that age excepting Champlain, who alone, even now, when taken prisoner and carried out of the country, did not despair of ultimate success.*

CHAPTER IX.

THE COMPANY OF "THE HUNDRED ASSOCIATES"—FAILURE OF THE COMPANY'S FIRST UNDERTAKINGS—RECOVERY OF NEW FRANCE, AND RE-OCCUPATION OF QUEBEC BY THE FRENCH—STATE OF THAT PLACE AND THE COUNTRY—GREAT GATHERING OF INDIANS AT QUEBEC—THE LIQUOR TRAFFIC—"JESUITS' RELATIONS."

68. CARDINAL RICHELIEU, the Prime Minister of Louis XIII., founded the society called the "*Company of the One Hundred Associates.*" It was established, not merely to put an end to the various obstacles and evils under which the colony languished, but also to place its future upon a strong and durable basis. Its organisation was completed in the year 1627, and the first expedition under its auspices was entered upon in 1628, but proved an entire failure, owing to the English having then the control

* A few, by Champlain's advice, accepted the offers of the English to remain under their protection in the possession of their habitations and clearings. They were to enjoy the same privileges as the English themselves. A number of the French traders also remained, but betook themselves to the west and into the Huron country, where they lived with the Indians until the country was restored to France about three years subsequently. Louis Kirkt was left in command at Quebec.

of the St Lawrence, and capturing or destroying the vessels sent out under M. de Roguemont. Then occurred, as we have described, the surrender of Quebec and the other stations, and their occupation by the English under the Kirkts.* The existence of the new Company and its government of the affairs of the colony can scarcely be said to have commenced, practically, until the year 1632, when New France was, by treaty with England, restored to the French authorities.

69. At first more than a hundred persons entered the Company, whose list of members included the names of Richelieu, Champlain, and a number of the most noted men of the kingdom, amongst whom were the Marquis *d'Effiat*, Commander *Razilly*, the famous printer *Cremoizie*, and the principal merchants of *Paris*, *Rouen*, *Bourdeaux*, and *Dieppe*. They engaged to carry out to New France not less than four thousand colonists within fifteen years, together with provision for their maintenance and their establishment on the land, furnished with implements of husbandry and all things requisite, until able to support themselves by their own labour.†

* The capture of Quebec and the occupation by Kirkt's people actually occurred at a date two months later than the declaration of peace between France and England in May 1629. Kirkt has been accused by some writers of having been acquainted with this fact when he moved finally upon Quebec to demand its surrender. However this may be, Champlain made representations on the subject in England, with a view to obtaining redress. Owing to several causes—the French being engaged in undertakings in comparison with which the restoration of Quebec seemed an insignificant affair, and the English Government being also remiss on the subject—three years elapsed, at the end of which the place was evacuated by the Kirkts and occupied by the French.

† The plans upon which this society was established were begun to be contemplated some time before, in consequence of the repetition of failures to fulfil engagements by De Caën's company, which, as has been stated in a former page, Champlain's reports made known in France, and probably led Richelieu to determine upon some effectual remedy.

In compensation for the expenses attendant upon their great undertaking, immense powers and privileges were conceded, subject to certain conditions set forth in detail in their charter. The associates were empowered to exercise sovereignty over New France and Florida. Two vessels of war, armed and equipped, were to be furnished by the King. All necessary supplies and merchandise for the colony were to be exempt from taxes or duties in France. The descendants of the colonists, as well as all natives who might be converted to Christianity, were to be regarded as lawful subjects of the King, and entitled to all the usual rights and privileges without being obliged to take out letters of naturalisation. All persons not members of the Church of Rome were to be excluded from the colony. Sovereign powers were to be exercised over New France and Florida, subject only to a simple act of homage to the King and his successors on the throne. Moreover, while traffic and commerce of all other kinds were guaranteed to the Company, under such regulations as they might determine from time to time, the fisheries of cod and whale were reserved to be freely open to all Frenchmen.*

70. The claims of religion were not forgotten in the arrangements of the new Company. It was stipulated that three priests should be maintained at each regular station during fifteen years, and kept supplied with everything necessary for the exercise of their functions. But when the time came to settle what orders of the priesthood should be employed, Richelieu and his coadjutors decided that it was not expedient to have in the colony more than a single order—preferring that of the Jesuits.†

* The other inhabitants of the country who were not maintained by or dependent upon the Company's resources were to be at liberty to trade with the natives, on condition of delivering all beaver-skins so procured to the Company's agents at a fixed price.

† One argument used was to the effect that, since for a long time the

71. When, after considerable delay, the restoration of Quebec was actually conceded by the English, A.D. 1632. there existed two causes by which the Company of One Hundred were prevented from immediately taking possession. In the first place, although it had been agreed to provide a large capital, ships and crews were not ready for their purposes; and, secondly, the De Caëns were justly entitled to be allowed some opportunities of recovering their losses, and, if possible, some portion of their property in the colony, which had of course fallen into the hands of the captors in 1629.

It was therefore settled that one of the De Caëns, with an officer named *Duplessis Bochart* under him, should, in the first instance, proceed to Quebec to resume possession, making up the expedition by means of the ships and employés of the old Company. At the same time, the space of one year's continuance of traffic was granted to the De Caëns for the other purpose mentioned above. At the

colony must be poor, it would be inconsistent to attach to it a *Mendicant* order, such as the Recollets were. The Jesuits joyfully resumed their missionary work in 1632, while the Recollets were not allowed to proceed further than Acadia. One of their number, the well-known Le Caron, died soon afterwards in France.

The powers, privileges, and obligations of the new Company may be thus summarily described:—A power, almost sovereign, was delegated to this Company over the transatlantic possessions of the King. It was to carry out settlers, and establish them on the land, with means of subsistence for three years—to do whatever was requisite for the protection of the colony, and for the administration of justice among its people—to regulate commerce, in regard to which the Company was made free of all imposts both in America and in France—to take care that the settlers should be exclusively Frenchmen and Roman Catholics—to set apart cleared lands for the perpetual maintenance of religion, with three priests on each distinct station or settlement—to enjoy all the privileges of native Frenchmen in regard to the sea-fisheries, and freedom of trade at home and abroad, as well as an exclusive monopoly in the fur trade—and, finally, to civilise and christianise the native Indian tribes, by bringing them under the influence of the Church.

end of that period, Champlain was to be replaced in command under the new regime.

Pursuant to these arrangements, Emery de Caën, furnished with instructions from the Government of France, and with an order signed by the King of England, superseded Thomas Kirkt at Quebec on the 13th of July 1632. On landing with the priests, who were sent out on board De Caën's vessels, it was found that much injury had been done in the place. Fire, violence, and wilful neglect had been instrumental in destroying nearly all the buildings, including those of the Jesuits and Recollets. It was also found that the old friends of the French—the *Montagnais* and other Indians—had been much corrupted by the traders with whom they had held intercourse during the three preceding years. The fort itself remained uninjured, and afforded shelter to all while the work of reconstructing habitations and a place of worship was carried on.

72. In the meantime, Champlain made preparations in France for carrying out colonists, merchandise, ammunition, and provisions. The Company furnished him with three vessels, well equipped, and armed with cannon. With these, having on board about two hundred persons, he arrived at Quebec on the 23d of May 1633, and A.D. 1633. landed amidst manifestations of great joy on the part of the French inhabitants, more especially of those who had remained in the country after his forced departure.

There were several foreign vessels, mostly English, in the river at different points, engaged in the peltry traffic. With becoming prudence, Champlain resolved not to have recourse to force for the recognition of his rights, judging it better to come to an understanding with the Indians belonging to the Upper St Lawrence, Ottawa, and the Huron territory, whom he soon succeeded in restoring to commercial intercourse with the French. The Nipissings,

and Hurons, as well as Algonquins, who at first, however, desired to intercept the traffic of their neighbours in passing by their settlements near *Allumette Island*, came in large numbers* to re-establish communications with the French at Three Rivers and Quebec. With some trifling exceptions, the savages cherished the most friendly sentiments towards Champlain and his people, including several priests who were known to many of them from having formerly officiated in their country. Great feastings and conferences or "councils" occurred, which lasted several days. The object of Champlain was so to gain over the Indians that the French alone might enjoy the whole peltry traffic with them, excluding the English, and all other strangers who frequented the St Lawrence. Of the extent and value of this traffic some opinion may be formed when it is stated, that the De Caëns, in carrying it on, were in the habit of employing about 150 men every season, besides interpreters; and that the produce of a season's operations was, in addition to other kinds of skins in large quantity, from *fifteen to twenty thousand beavers*, each worth one *pistole*.†

* Early in August 1633, it is recorded, that upwards of 500 Hurons, with 150 canoes laden with furs, made their appearance at Quebec, in consequence of the persuasion of Champlain's emissaries, despatched to confer with them soon after his return. They were followed down by other bodies, occupying parts through or near which the Hurons proper had to pass in order to reach the St Lawrence, and who claimed the right of conceding or withholding passage—especially an Algonquin tribe mentioned in the text. At the same time many Montagnais were present.

† A *pistole* was ten livres French, or 8s. 4d. English; so that twenty thousand beaver-skins would be reckoned worth upwards of £8000 sterling, a very large sum in those days.

The De Caëns, at the time when their company was about to be superseded by that of the Hundred Associates, represented that the value of their stock of merchandise, and of their stationary property at Quebec and Tadoussac, needed in carrying on their business, exceeded 40,000 *crowns*. Some of their employés were allowed not only pay and provisions, but also the perquisite of a certain fixed number of beaver-skins.

Aided by the priests and interpreters, both French and Indian, Champlain was able to exercise great influence over the minds of the native chiefs, who, before their departure homewards, promised to conform to his wishes in all respects.

73. But, from this time forward, increasing difficulty was experienced in dealing with the Indians, owing to the introduction amongst them of intoxicating liquors, by the independent traders, both French and English. The unfortunate savages were encouraged to indulge freely their taste for these, which grew into a confirmed propensity. The consequences were most disastrous—to an extent that might be called *national*. Not only were the most hideous traits of the savage character made to manifest themselves upon trifling occasions of excitement, but also the mortality amongst them was largely increased. It will be seen that the cause now adverted to was fruitful of much evil during the subsequent history of the colony, in spite of the regulations of governing authorities, and the constant exertions of the missionaries.

74. It was also about this time that the annual reports called the "Jesuit Relations" began to be transmitted from Canada in regular succession.

These celebrated documents were originally composed by the Jesuit missionaries for the information of their superiors in Europe. They were prepared usually in portions, according to circumstances, and sent home by the Company's vessels, year by year, when returning with the produce of the season's traffic. They now serve for authentic sources, whence has been derived much of what is known of the early history of Canada during the forty years ending with 1672.* The information conveyed in these writings

* Although a large portion of the "Relations" is occupied with incidents and reflections of a purely spiritual or religious nature, since they were

excited a great deal of interest in France, both in the minds of wealthy and zealous persons, as well as among people generally. Many, including young persons of adventurous spirit, and heads of families, were thus led to emigrate to New France. The names of most of these early colonists were recorded in the registers of Quebec and Three Rivers.

expressly intended to report the progress made in converting the Indians, and in the exercise of religious rites and ceremonies among the heathens of the West, yet there is also a vast amount of incidental information conveyed, which is valuable in a historical point of view. The earliest Relation was written in 1614; then follows one for the year 1626; and, after a break of six years, they proceed in regular succession from 1632 to 1672. Their authors were among the most distinguished of the hard-working Jesuit missionaries, who were sent out to carry the knowledge of Christianity to the Indian tribes of Acadia and Canada; they were named as follows:—*Pierre Biard, Charles Lalemant, Paul le Jeune, Barthelemy, Vimont, Jerome Lalemant, Paul Ragauneau, Jean de Brebeuf, F. J. le Mercier, Jean Dequen, and Claude Dablon.* These memoirs furnish accounts, often with much minuteness of detail, of the travels and other proceedings of those indomitable ecclesiastics, who have been surpassed by no other class of men in their display of courage, perseverance, and contempt of human suffering, when this had to be encountered by themselves in the cause for which they laboured. Written on the spot—one of the earlier Relations is significantly dated, "*From the midst of a forest of more than eight hundred leagues of extent, August 28th,* 1632."—Their geographical descriptions, and very full accounts of the Indians, as well as their incidental statements of historical facts, must always render these writings extremely valuable as records. On the Relation of 1636 were inscribed these words, "I have traced this Relation in haste, sometimes in one place, sometimes in another; sometimes on the waters, sometimes on land; and I finally conclude at the residence of Notre Dame, near to Quebec, in New France, this 28th August 1636."

After the destruction by fire of the Quebec Legislative Assembly Buildings, with the valuable library, in 1854, endeavours were made to recover the "Relations" which had been consumed, together with many precious historical works thought at the time to be irrecoverably lost; and this was accomplished with such success that, after several years spent in laborious research, those relating to New France were completely restored, and are now, in three thick volumes, printed under the auspices of the Canadian Government.

CHAPTER X.

LAST DAYS OF CHAMPLAIN—DEATH AND FUNERAL—HIS CHARACTER AND SERVICES—PROGRESS AND STATE OF THE COLONY UP TO THE TIME OF CHAMPLAIN'S DECEASE—OTHER EUROPEAN COLONIES.

75. FROM the moment of his return to Canada until his decease, Champlain occupied himself diligently in providing for the material progress of the colony, and at the same time co-operated heartily in all measures for securing its religious welfare, and for converting the savages. It will be seen from facts subsequently stated, that the Company was not wanting on its part, so long as Champlain lived. A.D. 1634-35.

Although not actually founded during his lifetime, a college or seminary was projected at Quebec for affording an education suitable to the religious wants of the country, and such as even the better class of families from France might have recourse to for their children. This object, which had been so far provided for by the gift of a benevolent person already mentioned,* had engaged the attention of Champlain and the Jesuit priests for some time. The preliminaries were all settled, except the ques-

* The Marquis de Gamanche's gift of 36,000 livres in the year 1626; or, rather, that of his son Remé de Rohant, a Jesuit priest.

It is not quite clear whether this was at first a pure gift or merely an offer. It is stated first on the list of donations between 1626 and 1655, to the Jesuit Missions of Quebec. At any rate, it became available in 1637, two years after Champlain's death, when the *College of Quebec* was actually founded.

tion of a site. While occupied with this and various other duties appertaining to his position, about October 10th, 1635, Champlain was laid prostrate by a stroke of paralysis. He never rose again from his couch, nor was he ever again able to sign his name to public or private documents.*

In his last illness, he was attended by his friend and spiritual adviser, *Charles Lalemant*, the author of the Relation of 1626,* and, during the previous ten years, a most efficient coadjutor in his work. Irreproachable as his life had been, his behaviour on his deathbed astonished those around him, seeming to them to confer perfection on his virtues by the grandeur of his expressions of piety, resignation, and love. He shed tears when he spoke of the families in the colony, saying that they must be powerfully assisted in their new beginnings, and always succoured as much as possible for the good of the country—which, he declared, he intended they should be, had God continued him in health. At length, on Christmas Day, 1635, the pious and amiable founder of Quebec breathed his last, bequeathing his blessing to his bereaved people, together with the memory of his virtues and of his great

* Ferland remarks in a note, "Several acts were closed at this time with a declaration that *they were not signed because Champlain was sick.* It is astonishing," he adds, "that up to this day there has not been found at Quebec a single document signed by Champlain."

† This priest was one of the three Jesuits who were sent out to Quebec in 1625. He was a favourite of Champlain. Lalemant himself, in the Relation cited in the text, says:—"Monsieur Champlain is always very affectionately disposed towards me, he has taken me as the director of his conscience." In Le Jeune's Relation for 1636, Lalemant is mentioned:—"He (Champlain) had prepared a lengthened general confession of his whole life, which he rendered with great pain to Lalemant, whom he honoured with his friendship. This father succoured him throughout his illness of two and a half months, and left him not up to the moment of his decease. . . . Lalemant officiated at the last ceremonies, and charged me with the delivery of the funeral oration."

services. On the occasion of his funeral obsequies, all the inhabitants, including the priests, officers, and soldiers, attended. When the ceremonies were ended, and before the people dispersed, Le Jeune produced and read aloud a document which had been committed to his care, with instructions by the directors of the Company. The purport of this was to confer the chief authority in the colony upon *M. de Chateaufort*, commandant of the post at Three Rivers, until a permanent successor should be appointed to the office of the departed Governor.

The remains of Champlain were entombed in a vault; over which, soon afterwards, his successor, Governor *Montmagny*, appears to have caused the erection of the small structure known as "*Champlain's Chapel.*"* His testament, drawn up during his last illness, was not signed by him. By it he bequeathed all his personal property in Canada to the Jesuits; but this, being disputed by one of Champlain's female relations, was set aside in her favour, as his widow, who survived her husband nineteen years,†

* In the Relation of 1643, by *Barthelemy Vimont*, we find it recorded that "the body of Champlain is in a distinct sepulchre, constructed expressly in honour of that illustrious personage, who conferred so many obligations upon New France." Since the funeral took place in the dead of winter, it seems probable that the sepulchre, or at least the exterior of the tomb, was not completed until sometime afterwards. However this may be, we find mention subsequently made of a building styled "*Champlain's Chapel*," in which one or more burials are stated to have taken place. The very site of this building has recently become the subject of controversy. About twelve years ago, *Mr Hugh O'Donnell*, in conducting some excavations connected with the Quebec Waterworks, found a stone-built vault, with coffin and human bones therein, which were pronounced to be the remains of the founder of Quebec. Mr O'Donnell carefully placed on record the plan and dimensions of the vault and larger bones, but it seems that, although the ancient structure is still to be seen, the coffin and remains were removed, and their present resting-place is as much a matter of mystery as was formerly the spot where they had reposed undisturbed during a period of nearly two centuries and a quarter.

† Madame Champlain, the daughter of a Huguenot who was a private

refused to go to law about his effects. He left no descendants.

76. The distinguished value of the services of Samuel de Champlain, and the genuine nobility of his character and disposition, may be deduced from the statements contained in the foregoing pages. On such worthy topics, however, it seems proper in this place to offer some additional observations, with the view of endeavouring to contemplate those objects of history more closely. We have seen that his connection with Canada lasted about twenty-eight years, between 1607 and 1635. He is thought to have accomplished, in all, nearly a score of voyages across the Atlantic Ocean; and it is worthy of notice that, so far as our information extends, he was fortunate enough never to have suffered shipwreck on any of his numerous passages between France and the St Lawrence. As regards the extension of geographical discovery, in addition to the results of his explorations upon the coast of Nova Scotia and in the Gulf of St Lawrence, it has been stated that he first made known to Europeans the course and origin of the *river Richelieu*, the existence of lakes *Champlain* and *George*, *Lake Huron*, and Lake Nipissing, as well as the position and nature of the country occupied by the *Huron* tribes, and the regions of the Upper *Ottawa*. If we consider how inferior, comparatively, were the equipments and accommodations which, two and a half centuries back, it was possible for those who travelled, whether by sea or land, to obtain, we must admit that Champlain's sea-voyages, and his inland journeys through an immense wilderness, with their results, would entitle him to rank as one

secretary of King Henry the Fourth of France, became, as has been stated, a devout Catholic under the influence of her husband. After his decease, she assumed the condition of a nun, and founded a convent in her native country, in which she died in the year 1654, as already stated.

of the most eminent of navigators, travellers, and geographical discoverers. In his endeavours to found the colony of Canada, in opposition to all kinds of obstacles, he proved himself to be gifted with perseverance of the very highest degree, as well as indomitable energy and resolution. Le Clerq, the author of a standard work called *L'Etablissment de la Foi*, has drawn a striking picture of the obstacles and the qualities just referred to. He says:—"From year to year, the same difficulties followed the founder of Quebec. In France, shifts, sordid parsimony, and delays on the part of the Company; jealousies, encroachments, lawsuits, on the part of merchants, strangers to the Company; indifference of the court, which neither was able nor willing to properly occupy those far-off possessions. On the sea, voyages, tedious, troublesome, and often dangerous. In America, scarcity of food and disease among the French, as well as fickleness and malevolence on the part of the natives. Such were the ever-recurring trials which Champlain was condemned to undergo. Yet, so strong was his faith in the ultimate success of his work, and so ardent and persevering his desire to found a French empire in America, and to impart civilisation and Christianity to the savages, that nothing could extinguish his devotion or lessen his confidence in the protection of God."

The only two defects, of any moment, alleged against him, seem to have been absence of penetration or proper forethought in involving himself in the quarrels of the Indians; and also *credulousness*, of which latter he has been accused by *Lescarbot*.* The former of these charges

* *Lescarbot*, a French lawyer and writer, and a man of versatile genius, may have founded his opinion upon his own personal experience of Champlain during his intercourse with him, in connection with the Acadian expedition, coupled with an after-knowledge of his retaining his faith in the

has been already sufficiently noticed. The latter may be frankly answered in the words of the historian *Charlevoix*:—"This defect is one appertaining to straightforward, honest dispositions: in the impossibility of being absolutely faultless, it is a beautiful quality in a man to possess those faults only which would become virtues if all men were such as they ought to be."

Champlain must have been blessed with a very strong constitution, and must have enjoyed good general health during the greater part of his very active life; for without these advantages he would not have felt able, or even disposed, to encounter the difficulties necessarily incident to his numerous sea-voyages and his expeditions amongst the savage tribes. His appearance and demeanour were prepossessing. His countenance was remarkable for earnestness and mildness of expression; the latter not altogether indicative of the chivalrous spirit and courage with which he several times led the Hurons into combat with the Iroquois. In manners, address, and conversation, he was remarkably insinuating, and this quality rendered him acceptable to all with whom he came into contact. The polished Frenchman, the soldier, the priest, and the un-

establishment of the colony on the banks of the St Lawrence, notwithstanding the innumerable trials, embarrassments, obstacles, and failures, with which every well-informed person in France must have become acquainted.

The case of *Nicolas du Vignau*, who so egregiously misled Champlain by his pretended discovery of the Northern Sea, affords a notable instance of his honest willingness to depend on another's veracity. In the beginning of his acquaintance with the Hurons, and for some time afterwards, he placed too much reliance upon the steadiness and fidelity of that fickle people, trusting to these for his personal safety and even his life. Experience, however, at length showed him precisely what dependence was to be placed on them, so that, during the last twenty years of his career, he never suffered himself to be beguiled by their representations and promises into accompanying them in their proposed warlike undertakings against the Iroquois.

tutored savage, seem to have been equally amenable to the charm with which his tact and experience of mankind, combined with his sincerity of purpose, conspired to invest his mode of conducting personal intercourse. Indeed, without the possession of this faculty in an eminent degree, he could not have so often successfully pleaded the cause of his colony amongst the wealthy, the religious, and the mercantile classes of France. It secured him attention everywhere, and enabled him to urge with effect his appeals in the camp and in the King's court.

Of his sincere piety, also, frequent mention has been made. This, together with his other attributes, endeared him to the ecclesiastics, Recollets as well as Jesuits, the latter comprising in their body the best educated and most accomplished men of the age. It would seem as if they looked upon Champlain with a species of wonder, seeing that, while he necessarily exercised a vigilant supervision over affairs appertaining to material or worldly interests, he was able, nevertheless, to come up to their own standard of excellence in regard to spiritual condition. On this point, Le Jeune, in the Relation for 1633, piously remarks :—"It often occurs to me to reflect how this great man, who, by his admirable sagacity and unequalled prudence in the conduct of business, has gained so much worldly renown, yet prepares for himself a very bright crown of glory in heaven by the concern he testifies in behalf of the conversion of so many, whose souls are in danger of perishing through unbelief in these wild countries. I pray earnestly for him every day, and our Company having, by his means, occasion to glorify God in such a noble enterprise, will owe him an eternal obligation."

In ordinary social intercourse, his tendency was rather towards the practice of a congenial cheerfulness and pleasantry than to that moroseness which sometimes be-

comes habitual with earnest men under the influence of fervid religious zeal. Of this several interesting examples occur in the Relation already quoted. One day, towards the end of May 1663, after service in their small chapel, the Jesuit priests induced him to remain with them to dinner. "One of our savages," says Le Jeune, "fortunately had brought us some bear's flesh, of which we offered him a morsel. On tasting it, he began to laugh, and said to me, 'If they only knew in France of our eating bear's flesh, they would turn away their faces from our breath, and yet you see how nice and delicate this meat is.'" "You are always," said an Indian chief, in reply to a bit of Champlain's pleasantry, "saying some humorous thing to us to make us feel happy; and if what you declare should prove true, we should be joyful indeed."

In his dealings with the Indians, he was uniformly truthful and just, and in this respect they recognised the contrast between his conduct and that of European traders, who purchased their valuable furs and cheated them without compunction. At an assembly of savages, met in Quebec for the purpose of conferring with the French, a chief said to Champlain, "We entirely love you; all that you say is true." On the occasion of another council, at which the Jesuit fathers were present, gifts were mutually exchanged between the Indians and Champlain, when the latter was scrupulously careful that the French presents should not be less in value than those given by the savages. Le Jeune, in recording the circumstances, remarks :—"To accept gifts of savages is *to engage to return gifts of corresponding worth.*" In another place, the same worthy priest places on record Champlain's just claims to the character of a truly honourable man, in the simple words, "He has truly spent his life in the practice of justice and

equity, in loyalty towards his sovereign, and in perfect fidelity towards the gentlemen of the Company."

Such was the character of the great and good man whose name heads the long list of Governors of Canada,—a name which must always occupy a conspicuous position in history, on account of the discoveries, the deeds, and the virtues of its possessor.

77. Before Champlain's death, the colony was far from having attained to such a position of growth and strength as to warrant a confident belief in its permanence. In the summer of 1633 there may have been from 150 to 180 persons of the class of actual residents or settlers, located principally at Quebec or in its vicinity, and the majority of these were workpeople or single men employed on the works and at the trading stations. In addition to these there were the Company's agents at the posts of Tadoussac and Three Rivers, at which latter place Champlain caused some rough buildings to be erected, and a platform with one or two small pieces of artillery mounted for defensive purposes. During the summer season the numbers would of course be augmented by the people employed in the trading vessels—but these cannot be counted as colonists. The straggling Frenchmen, interpreters and others dispersed among the Indian tribes, are not included in the above enumeration. There were not, in fact, colonists sufficient in number, or sufficiently settled on the land, to raise the food required even for their own support.*

* The following statement made relative to the year 1639, four years after Champlain's death, will throw some light on the subject of this article—it is taken from "The History of the Ursulines of Quebec," p. 25:—"The population of Quebec was only about 250 French; in the environs there wandered some hundreds of savages, Algonquins, established by Lalemant at Sillery, and governed by the Jesuit priests. In truth *fish* was very abundant—but it was useless to count upon the products of the soil,

78. It has been already mentioned that while Champlain lived, or during the years 1632–1635, the Company of One Hundred Associates were not wanting on their part in furthering the progress of the colony. They founded and maintained, under the designation of *Residences*, at least five establishments in the territory of New France,* besides the forts, trading marts, and dwellings for the accommodation of the colonists in different places. As regards the families and the individual colonists whom they introduced into the country, they exercised the utmost precautions in the endeavour to exclude all but persons of irreproachable character and habits. Le Jeune, who furnishes a somewhat minute account of the state of the colony at this time, expresses great joy at the increase of numbers, specifying two families in particular which alone comprehended forty-five persons; and the worthy priest's mind being not entirely absorbed by the spiritual bearing of affairs, he piously adds, "What a subject for thankfulness it is to see, in these countries, delicate ladies and children of tender age, landing from their wooden prisons, like the bright day issuing from the darkness of night, and, after all, enjoying such excellent health, notwithstanding all the inconveniences of these floating habitations, just as if they had pursued their route comfortably in a chariot." The Relations which had informed the people of France of what had transpired on the banks of the St

even in the neighbourhood of Quebec, or upon the results of the chase in the forest; the continual dangers which the colonists incurred prevented every one from daring to stray far from the little forts built here and there. At that time, and for a number of subsequent years, the colony could not calculate on subsistence except upon the provisions and supplies brought from France."

Further on in the same work, it is stated that houses (*batiments*) were scarce for the population.

* At *Cape Breton*, *Miscou*, *Quebec*, *Three Rivers*, and *Shonatira*, among the Hurons.

Lawrence, had not only created an intense eagerness in the minds of religious persons to assist in the conversion of the savages, but also, by the particulars furnished, had attracted much attention in respect of the material advantages of the country. Various questions were asked by people in France to which Le Jeune returns full replies. Was the country exposed to the incursions of the hostile Spaniards? If the lands were cleared and worked, would they yield enough to support the inhabitants? Were there apples or other fruits to be raised? How long a time would it take twenty men to clear an acre? What sort of provisions would be required, and how much would it cost to maintain each man a year? How large and deep is the St Lawrence, and how far up can large vessels go? To these were added other questions of a practical nature, in order to elicit information about the quality of the soil in regard to tillage, pasturage, and whether the labour of oxen and horses could be employed?—whether *stone, clay, sand, lime*, and other requisites for building were abundant? —what natural products, animals, fish, and birds, were to be found?—also what descriptions of merchandise, minerals and necessaries for shipbuilding could be exported to France?—and finally, what was the character of the more remote regions, such as those occupied by the Huron people?

From the answers given to these questions, and the various reflections and details supplied by the worthy ecclesiastic, we are enabled to form some notion of the condition and prospects of the colony about the period of Champlain's death. Le Jeune sums up the recommendations of the country under the four heads of excellence of its soil, its fortified posts,* the quality and

* The fortified places alluded to were *Quebec*—strengthened by Champlain on his return in 1633, and continued additions made to its defences subsequently—*Three Rivers*, and "*L'Islet de Richelieu.*"

number of its inhabitants, and what he designates as its "*civil and ecclesiastical police.*" Such means of defence as existed in 1635, the Company of Associates proposed to continually increase, by establishing new posts up the river as far as or beyond "Sault St Louis," * and they looked forward to the day when they should entirely command the whole extent of country through which flowed the "Grand River" or *Ottawa*, and when their occupation of it would reach to the shores of Lake Huron.

Upon the other points referred to, Le Jeune thus expresses himself:—"As to the inhabitants of New France, they have increased beyond expectation. When I came first there was only one family; now, every season we witness the arrival of a goodly number of highly honourable persons, who come to throw themselves into our vast forests as into a peaceful retreat for piety and liberty. The sounds of palaces, and the thunders of serjeants-at-law, pleaders, and solicitors, could only reach us here from the distance of a thousand leagues; and it is only once a year that the papers and gazettes, which some bring from Old France, apprise us of the existence in the world of *exactions, frauds, robberies, murders,* and *enmities*. Of course we are not without our maladies, but they are of easy cure and inexpensive. Thank God, the amiable souls in this country can experience the sweetness of a life far remote from thousands of superfluous compliments, from the tyranny of legal processes and the ravages of war. . . . Here we have honourable gentlemen and soldiers, whom it is a pleasure to behold going through warlike exercises in the midst of peace, and to hear the reports of musketry and cannon only on occasions of rejoicing re-echoed from our grand forests and mountains. The other inhabitants consist of a mass of various artisans and a number of honour-

* Lachine.

able families, notably increased of late. Even our savages are astonished to see so many of what they call '*captains* and *young captains.*' When they tell us at Quebec that there is a number of persons at Tadoussac, and that nothing is to be seen below but men, women, and little children coming to increase our colony, and that amongst them are young ladies and young children as bright as the day, I leave you to judge how joy and surprise take possession of our hearts. Who cares now for the difficulty of crossing the ocean, when such young children, and girls, and women, naturally timid, make nothing of the long sea-voyage? . . . As to our civil and ecclesiastical police, I have already intimated we have no practice here for cavillers. All our disagreements hitherto have quickly disappeared; every one is his own advocate, and the first person one meets is a judge of last resort without appeal. But if there be any case which deserves to come before the Governor, he disposes of it in two words. It is not that we cannot have here any judicial process, but as there are no great occasions of dispute, so there cannot be great lawsuits, and consequently in that respect all is mild and agreeable. Of course in all societies there are some discontented spirits to whom the very mildest form of restraint seems odious. All such are provided for here; for, on the 29th December 1635, notices and prohibitions were affixed to a pillar in front of the church specifying the penalties for blasphemy, intemperance, neglect of mass or of divine service on fête-days. Also a pillory was attached to the same, which was had recourse to on the 16th of January to punish a drunkard and blasphemer; and on the 22d one of our people was condemned to pay a fine of fifty livres for having supplied intoxicating liquors to the savages. As to ecclesiastical jurisdiction, this is only exercised as yet in the hearts and consciences. At first when we came to this country we

had only a wretched little hovel in which to celebrate divine service, and which now would make us ashamed; then we had an apartment in a house; next we built a chapel, and now we aim at converting this into a church. The first services held in this large chapel or little church were so attended that the place was filled from one end to the other. . . . I have forgotten to say that the establishment of a College serves much to benefit the country, and a number of honourable people have intimated to me that they never would have crossed the ocean to New France, but that they knew there were here already persons able to guide their consciences and care for their salvation, as well as to instruct their children in virtue and learning."

From what has been stated, it may justly be inferred that an auspicious beginning, at least, had been made in laying the foundations of a colony. Had the Company of Associates followed up their first efforts by continuing year by year to pay the same regard to the fulfilment of its obligations, then would this colony of New France soon have become considerable in numbers and resources, and have been in a position to ward off the lamentable train of miseries by which it came to be afflicted afterwards through neglect, internal weakness, dissension, and external hostility.

79. It is necessary, in this place, to make mention of other European colonies which were growing up on the continent of North America, and whose presence there influenced the future destinies of Canada. In 1607 the English took the first step towards colonising Virginia by founding *Jamestown*. In 1609 the river Hudson was navigated by the Dutch, who soon afterwards established settlements at *Manhattan* (*New York*) and at *Orange* (Albany). In 1621 the pilgrim fathers commenced the settlement of *Massachusetts*. In process of time powerful colonies sprung

from these beginnings, which increased in population and resources much more rapidly than New France, owing to several causes. In the first place, the promoters of the French colony were far more particular about the quality than the number of settlers, while the conversion of the Indians formed a primary object of care; besides which, there was less real desire among the French people to emigrate and establish new homes for themselves in America. On the other hand, in the other European colonies, the inducements of trade and commerce, united with greater facilities for procuring settlers, and an entirely different system of civil and religious government, rendered these far less dependent upon causes such as kept back the progress of New France. Accordingly, at the time when Champlain's people were struggling for sheer existence on the St Lawrence, numbering less than fourscore souls, the English and Dutch colonies embraced a population of more than two thousand. We also find it recorded that upwards of twenty thousand persons came to establish themselves in Massachusetts, New York, and Virginia between the years 1627 and 1637; and that while it became difficult, soon after Champlain's death, to induce French families to go out to Canada, such was the flow of emigrants to New England, that the Government took steps to check it.

It could not have been religious exclusiveness alone that made the French colony increase less rapidly in numbers than New England; for the puritans and zealots of Massachusetts and New York were peculiarly harsh towards those of a different persuasion from their own. Indeed, they sometimes exercised a degree of intolerance that passed all bounds of moderation. The French authorities, both in the mother country and in Canada, did their best to exclude improper characters at the same time that they sought to

have their emigrants all of one faith;* so that what was lost in respect of numbers must have been in a degree compensated for by unity of sentiment and the quality of the settlers. The climate also was less rigorous in Massachusetts and Virginia than northward at Tadoussac and Quebec.

80. The presence of those other European colonies in North America was not a source of advantage to the French in Canada, but, on the contrary, a cause of trouble and disaster. Apart from the influence of the feelings which might have been expected to stimulate rivalry between bodies of colonists of differing nationality, much evil was occasioned by the neglect of their respective Governments to fix, in a proper manner, the boundaries of their transatlantic possessions.

It is not necessary, for the purposes of this history, to enter into all the details embraced in this important subject, but only to confine ourselves to such as principally affected Canada. We have seen that while the French were engaged in endeavours to settle Acadia and the region bordering on the St Lawrence, the English and Dutch were

* The support which the French Court afforded to the schemes of the companies, into whose care the process of settling New France was entrusted, was always professedly based upon the desire to christianise the heathen natives. Richelieu's strong company recognised that as its first duty, and as one that could not be participated in by seceders from the faith of the French people generally. Champlain had not only acquiesced to this extent in exclusiveness as regards religion, but also desired to avoid all display of religious dissension in the presence of the untutored savages, as being calculated to injure his own people in their estimation. There are instances of his showing himself desirous of assuaging the bitterness of that sort of dissension during his connection with the De Caëns. But he was entirely averse from making religion a cloak for proceedings unjust to the savages. Harmless, indeed, and praiseworthy was his *bigotry* in comparison with that of the first conquerors of Mexico and Peru, who made religion a mere pretence, and a mask for their cupidity and treachery and wholesale cruelties towards the unhappy natives of those regions.

similarly occupied in Virginia and Massachusetts, in New York, and along the banks of the Hudson. The kings of France claimed territorial jurisdiction over an immense tract, extending all the way from the St Lawrence to Florida, under the title of "Nouvelle France" —a name which was first assigned by Verrazzani, although not adopted into general use until the time of Henry IV. Other Governments, as those of the English and Dutch, also claimed jurisdiction over portions of that vast domain. In course of time, as we have seen, settlements came to be formed. The kings of Europe made grants, based on their respective claims of discovery, to enterprising individuals and companies. Sometimes these grants were very extensive indeed, including portions of the continent stretching from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Care was not taken to be particular about boundaries, or about the titles of the sovereigns who made the grants, or about the grants previously made by other potentates. The consequence was, that whenever the European Governments went to war with each other, the uncertainty and hostile claims relative to boundaries became convenient causes of dispute, and led to bloodshed among their American subjects. They attacked and destroyed each other's stations and villages, under the pretext that their occupants were intruders and trespassers. Moreover, the trading operations of the French, Dutch, and English brought them into collision in dealing with the same Indian tribes. They tried to outbid each other, in order to secure advantages in traffic, and to form alliances with the savages. The Europeans, in their eagerness to extend their dealings with the natives, and to strengthen their alliances with them, forgot their own substantial interests so far as to supply the savages with fire-arms and ammunition, and did not scruple to furnish them freely with intoxi-

cating liquors, thus occasioning them infinite injury and degradation.

Excepting, however, in times of war in Europe, the different nations do appear to have entertained some respect for claims founded upon actual priority of occupation or settlement. But, as has been already stated, priority of discovery was always a convenient excuse for aggression.

To illustrate what has been said about the uncertainty of boundaries, it may be mentioned that James I. of England made grants, between the years 1606 and 1621 to several distinct companies, authorising them to establish settlements—*plantations*—between lat. 34° and 48° N. On November 3, 1621, the same King made a grant of *New England*, defined to lie between lat. 40° and lat. 48° N. This space included Acadia and nearly all Canada. Later still the English Government made special grants extending to the St Lawrence, in utter disregard of the French claims, founded both upon prior discovery and actual settlement.

Again, afterwards, when the French had pushed their discoveries westward beyond Lake Michigan, and southward into the valleys of the Ohio and Mississippi, it was claimed that the English had no rights to the west of the Alleghany Mountains, it being impossible to dispute their title to the territory lying east of that range. These adverse claims were not even adjusted when the European nations came to make peace with each other. In short, it seemed as if there was an intentional neglect of the important question of boundaries, in order that they might, whenever they saw fit, convert their American settlements into battlefields. So far as the savages themselves were concerned, we shall see that the Iroquois supported the pretensions of the English, while the French colonists had as allies

the Hurons, Algonquins, Abenaquis, and other Canadian tribes.

NOTE.—Many details illustrative of the religious and social state of the colony about the time of Champlain's death might have been included in the foregoing chapter but for the necessity of curtailing its length. Some incidents, showing the manner of life and the personal trials and sufferings of the Jesuit priests, will be mentioned further on. These, of course, from their superior culture and intelligence, acquired great influence in all the affairs of the colony. They numbered then about fifteen persons. Champlain's wife was not merely the first *French lady* seen in the country, but, during her stay of four years, she was the only one. The impression made on the then rude colonists and on the wondering savages by her prepossessing appearance and her gentle manners has been already alluded to. Registers began to be kept in Quebec about the year 1621. The first baptism entered was that of one *Eustache Martin*, son of "*Master Abraham Martin*," from whose christian name was derived that of the tract near the city known as the *Plains of Abraham*. The first wedding was that of one *Couillard* and a daughter of the earliest emigrant, *Louis Hebert*.

Some animals, *cows, sheep, swine*, &c., had been imported as early as 1608. In 1623, it is recorded that two thousand bundles of fodder were brought from the pasture grounds at *Cap Tourmente* to Quebec for winter use.

The Company of Associates were bound to bring in two or three hundred settlers every year. In order to carry on the work of establishing settlers on the land, several subordinate companies or associations were formed in France about this time. One of the leaders in such enterprises was M. Giffard, a physician, who spent no less than thirty years of his life in promoting the advancement of the colony. In return for his services, the Company of Associates conferred on him an extensive tract as a *seigniory* at *Beaupórt*, near Quebec, where he employed artisans and labourers in clearing land and constructing a mansion for his own family. A village soon grew up there in consequence of these labours.

In course of this chapter there is scarcely an allusion made to the Iroquois. Nevertheless these continued to be persistent enemies both to the Canadian Indians and the French colonists. Incidents connected with their implacable hostility form a notable part of the subsequent history.

When the Ursulines and the Hospital nuns—three of each order—came out with Madame de la Peltrie, the former were placed in a small building in the lower town, where they remained three years, till 1642, when their house and convent were built in the upper town. They immediately commenced teaching young Indian and French girls. The Hospital nuns

35563

were accommodated at Sillery. From August 1639 to February 1640 the small-pox raged and occasioned much anxiety and labour to the nuns. In describing their first winter out of France, the Ursulines say of themselves —"Although confined in a small hole, with insufficient air, we yet continue in health. If in France one eat only bacon and salt-fish, as we do here, one might be ill without a word said; but we are well, and sing better than in France. The air is excellent, and this is a terrestrial paradise, where the difficulties and troubles of life come so lovingly, that the more one is piqued, the more one's heart is filled with amiability."

CHAPTER XI.

COMPANY OF ASSOCIATES FAILS TO FULFIL ITS ENGAGEMENTS—CHAMPLAIN'S SUCCESSORS — IROQUOIS INCURSIONS AND AUDACITY—ESTABLISHMENTS AT SILLERY AND QUEBEC—SETTLEMENT OF THE ISLAND OF MONTREAL — FORTIFICATIONS — EARLY TRIALS AND DISASTERS OF THE SETTLERS—GALLANT CONDUCT OF MAISONNEUVE—GENERAL ACCOUNT OF THE PROGRESS OF MONTREAL UP TO THE YEAR 1663—FATE OF MAISONNEUVE—INCURSIONS OF THE IROQUOIS — THEIR DESIGNS AGAINST THE COLONY — DESTRUCTION OF THE HURON NATION—HEROISM OF DOLLARD AND HIS COMPANIONS.

81. THE Company of One Hundred Associates soon began to relax in their efforts. Like their predecessors, they found their commercial gains much interfered with by merchants and adventurers, who not only denounced their exclusive privileges at the court of France, but, in the colony itself, set at defiance all endeavours to prevent them from trading with the natives. In France, the head official or Viceroy, though a personage of high rank, was unable to protect the Company in the enjoyment of their rights; nor could those who conducted their local business efficiently discharge their duties to the colony. A.D. 1636-63.

These duties, which included the security and defence of the inhabitants, as well as seeing that the conditions of the Company's charter were fulfilled in respect of the support of religion and the supply of necessaries to the colonists, came at length to be very inefficiently performed. Long before the time originally specified for the introduction of not less than four thousand emigrants, the settlement of the country by them resolved itself into the sending out of mere factors and servants to work out their commercial interests alone. In consequence, owing to their failure to sustain an adequate military force, and their neglect of the wants of the inhabitants, so far as these were dependent upon the care of the Associates, their chief officers were left to contend with difficulties similar to those which had formerly beset Champlain. Added to these evils were others growing out of internal dissensions and the hostile attacks of the Iroquois. Hence, between the time of the death of Champlain and the year 1663, when the Company's charter was abolished, the history of the colony is principally that of a struggle to sustain a precarious existence; for it will be seen that at any time during the greater part of that period, the colony, with all its inhabitants, might have perished, unable to bear up against the combined effects of neglect, scarcity, and some sudden assault of their ferocious adversaries. Before the year last mentioned, whether from death of members, resignation, or loss of interest in the concerns of New France, the number of Associates had dwindled to less than one half of their complement.

Although in this article it has been judged necessary to refer in a summary manner to the Company of Associates, nevertheless, during the period adverted to, the history of the colony is replete with other incidents which it is proper to describe more fully.

82. After Champlain, *M. Chateaufort* presided over the

affairs of the colony at Quebec until the arrival of a permanent successor, *M. de Montmagny*, which occurred in May 1636. In all, there were seven chief functionaries or Governors between 1635 and 1663, namely, *M. Montmagny*, *M. d'Aillebout*, the *De Lausons*, father and son, *M. d'Argenson*, and *M. d'Avaugour*.*

These exercised their functions under the most difficult conditions, some of which have been alluded to in the preceding article. Indeed, there is so much similarity in the record of events of their successive governorships, that to recount all in detail would seem to be, in many cases, a mere repetition.

83. During Montmagny's governorship, from 1636 to 1648, while the trading operations of the Company of Associates were being prosecuted as well as external circumstances permitted, unremitting attention continued to be devoted to two principal objects—the conversion of the Canadian Indians, and the defence of the country against the Iroquois. These barbarians committed serious depredations and atrocities, making frequent irruptions into Canada for the purpose chiefly of attacking the Hurons, who could scarcely make head against them with all the aid they could derive from their French allies. Montmagny, to whom the Hurons and Algonquins gave the name of "Ononthio," † notwithstanding the display of much courage

* Montmagny, ... 1636—1648.
D'Ailleboust, ... 1648—1651.
De Lauson, ... 1651—1656.
De Lauson (son), . . . 1656—1657.
D'Ailleboust, ... 1657—1658
(same as from 1648 to 1651).
D'Argenson, ... 1658—1661.
D'Avaugour, ... 1661—1663.

See complete list of Governors in page 144.

† In the Indian tongue, *mountain* or *great mountain*; the King of France they designated as "The *Great Ononthio*."

and skill, was unable to secure any permanent success in his defensive operations. After one assault was repelled, another quickly followed. During one year, 1640, the horrors of Indian warfare occasioned extreme suffering both to the Hurons and to the French. The Hurons were in the habit of bringing down the products of the chase from the Ottawa regions and the Upper St Lawrence to the French trading posts at Three Rivers and Quebec, and this afforded their malignant enemies opportunities of indulging at the same time their cruelty and their cupidity.* On one occasion, the Governor had contrived to induce the Iroquois to send deputies to Three Rivers for the purpose of negotiating terms of peace. During the conference, several Huron canoes came in sight on the river, when the barbarian negotiators suddenly broke up the meeting, and openly pushed off from the bank to attack and pillage their unsuspecting enemies.

At the conference referred to, the Iroquois demanded, as one of the conditions of peace, that the French should abandon the Hurons and Algonquins to their mercy—a demand which proves how necessitous the case of the colonists was regarded to be by those with whom Montmagny was desirous of coming to terms. With such adversaries and on such conditions no satisfactory peace could be established.

84. Meanwhile, chiefly through the benevolence and zeal of private individuals in France, accessions were being

* The traffic of the Iroquois at this time was with the Dutch colonists on the river Hudson. By waylaying the Huron parties on the St Lawrence, they were enabled to take possession of the skins procured in the hunting-grounds of their hated enemies. The canoes were destroyed or taken, and the unfortunate Hurons massacred or carried off to be tortured to death in the Iroquois villages.

In return for skins the Dutch supplied the Iroquois with arms, ammunition, and ardent spirits. At certain seasons of the year, the Hurons used to pass down in large numbers, having their canoes laden with furs.

made to the means of extending religious missions among the Indian settlements, as well as founding permanent religious establishments at Quebec, Three Rivers, and on the Island of Montreal.

Undeterred by the calamitous condition of the country, numerous clerical and lay persons devoted themselves to those works. In 1637, an institution for converted Algonquins was begun near Quebec, and named *Sillery*,* after the gentleman who founded it. In 1639 and 1640 the *Hotel Dieu*,† as an hospital for the sick, and the *Ursuline Convent*‡ for the training and education of female children, both French and Indians, were established within the limits of that city.

85. In 1640 another society, under the designation of "*La Compagnie de Montreal*," was formed in Paris for the promotion of religion in the colony. This company consisted of upwards of thirty persons of wealth and influence, who entered into a kind of partnership with the object of establishing a permanent settlement on the island where Hochelaga once existed. Here it was proposed to

* M. de Sillery was a Knight of Malta and one of the Company of Associates, but furnished the means of founding the establishment out of his own pocket. From being a gay courtier at the court of Louis XIII., he became a priest, and devoted his wealth to pious works. He died in 1640. The establishment named after him was intended to include a house for the Jesuits, to be called St Joseph; also habitations and grounds for those converted Algonquins and Montagnais who could be induced to leave their wild habits of life and take up their residence near to their Jesuit pastors.

† The Hotel Dieu was founded by a French Duchess, *Madame d'Aiguillon*, who took much interest in the welfare of the Canadian Indians.

‡ The Ursuline Convent was founded by another lady of rank, *Madame de la Peltrie*, who came herself to Canada, bringing with her three nuns as nurses for the Hotel Dieu, and three Ursuline sisters for the convent. (See note, p. 101.) This lady's determination to go out to New France, and to devote her property to the purpose of educating the daughters of the French settlers and of the savages, had been warmly opposed by her relatives.

build a town and protect it by means of fortifications. A gentleman named *Maisonneuve* was chosen to conduct the operations, and to preside over all the affairs of the Company in Canada. The sanction of the Company of Associates, as well as that of the King, having been obtained, in the course of 1641 and 1642, priests and families, as well as a body of forty chosen men, under the immediate command of Maisonneuve, were sent out.*

86. On the 17th of May 1642, "*Ville Marie*" was solemnly consecrated. The spot was near to the slope of that "Royal Mount" which received its name one hundred and seven years before from Jacques Cartier; in imitation of whom, it is recorded, M. de Maisonneuve ascended to the summit, and surveyed the boundless expanse of rivers, forests, and highlands extending to the east and south. The site of Ville Marie became in after times that of the city of Montreal.

87. The preparations made in France for the settlement of the Island of Montreal were attended with several noteworthy circumstances. The choice of M. de Maisonneuve was a fortunate one. He was a man of unquestioned

* "On arriving at Quebec in 1641, they were solicited not to proceed higher up the river. The colony had only two or three hundred persons, and would profit much by this reinforcement. They were offered the Island of Orleans for erecting their establishment, and efforts were made to intimidate them by accounts of the Iroquois, who overran the country, and were still about the Island of Montreal. Maisonneuve replied—'I have not come to deliberate, but to execute: if there were as many Iroquois at Montreal as trees, it is my duty and a matter of honour to go there and establish a colony.' He went without delay. Mdlle. Mance remained to spend the winter in Quebec. Attempts were made to detain her, but she, far from being deterred from going to Montreal, even gained over Madame Peltrie, who had a taste for new establishments. Madame Peltrie, when at Montreal, proposed to go among the Hurons, but the priest Vimont dissuaded her. Eventually she returned to Quebec, and there passed the rest of her life. She stayed eighteen months at Montreal, till the year 1643."—*Ursulines of Quebec*, vol. i. p. 76.

courage, experience, and piety, besides being possessed of considerable wealth. When applied to, he offered his services without any regard to self-interest, declaring his desire to devote his sword, his purse, and his life to the work, for the glory of God. Twenty tons of provisions and other necessaries were despatched to Quebec beforehand, consigned to the charge of Le Jeune, the old friend of Champlain. Recruits were selected from among able-bodied men, equally handy in the use of the sword, the axe, and the hoe; and a sum of twenty-five thousand crowns was provided, so that nothing might be wanting in the way of equipments. At the same time the Montreal Company sought the services of an accomplished woman to go out in charge of the hospital arrangements and the distribution of the provisions and merchandise, and one who would be willing to expatriate herself from motives similar to those which actuated M. de Maisonneuve.* Among those who came to establish themselves on the island were *M. d'Aillebout*, and his wife and sister. D'Aillebout was also a man of rank and wealth, and noted subsequently for becoming twice Governor of the whole colony.

88. During its first few years the new establishment on the Island of Montreal barely contrived to maintain an existence. M. d'Aillebout, conversant with the art of fortification by reason of his previous experience in military affairs, was charged with the duty of preparing the defences necessary for protection against the Iroquois, who prowled like wild beasts through the adjacent territory, and more especially along the northern outlets of the river Ottawa, frequented by the Hurons in their passage into the

* Several noble ladies of France interested themselves in the affairs of the new company, and finally selected *Mademoiselle Mance*, who went out under their auspices, and became the foundress of the Hotel Dieu of Montreal.

St Lawrence. Fortunately those savages failed to discover the presence of the French on the island until the spring of 1643, by which time the colonists were enabled to quit their temporary cabins of bark and occupy habitations of a more permanent character. But no sooner did the Iroquois become aware of the vicinity of the Europeans than they began to harass them after their fashion. Lying in wait, and watching their opportunity from behind the trunks of trees and lurking-places in the forests, they attacked all who ventured outside the enclosures, frequently succeeding in cutting off stragglers, and in killing or making them captives. In fact, the colonists, during the years 1643 and 1644, lived in a state of siege. In spite of the discontent and solicitations of his people, Maisonneuve persisted in remaining on the defensive, until at length, when charged with downright cowardice, he deemed it necessary both to prove his own courage and to convince his followers of the wisdom of his course in refraining from offensive operations. Accompanied by dogs trained to discover the Iroquois in their places of concealment, and at the head of thirty armed men, he marched out into the forest, where upwards of two hundred savages speedily fell upon the French and compelled them to return. Maisonneuve was the last to retire. With a pistol in each hand, he moved slowly backwards after his discomfited band, covering their retreat.* A number of Frenchmen were killed and wounded in this encounter, which had, however, the effect of satisfying all that they could preserve their lives only by remaining under the protection of their fortifications. During the years above mentioned the losses of the French, through the vigilant hostility of their enemies and their crafty

* It is said that the spot upon which this signal proof of valour was displayed was that which, now situated in the heart of the modern city, is known as the "Place d'Armes."

modes of attack, were such that, notwithstanding considerable reinforcements from France, the total number of colonists on the island decreased, while it was found impossible to provide adequate accommodations for the sick and wounded.

89. It will be seen from the statements made in a future article, that nearly the whole period subsequent to the settling of the Island of Montreal, up to the year 1663, was calamitous to the French throughout Canada. But confining our attention, for the present, to the early history of Montreal, we learn that Maisonneuve, foreseeing the probable ruin of the people under his more immediate command, visited France in 1645, during a temporary suspension of hostilities with the Iroquois, in order to obtain succour. He left D'Aillebout in charge, with instructions to augment the fortifications as much as possible. In 1646, the Iroquois renewing their attacks, D'Aillebout also went to France, in the hope of hastening the arrival of reinforcements so urgently needed. Fortunately Maisonneuve was then on his way out with recruits and supplies. In 1648 D'Aillebout was promoted to the position of Governor of Canada, and, in conjunction with Maisonneuve, now his subordinate, adopted measures which were effectual in saving from destruction the colonists on the island. During the four succeeding years of carnage, these were scarcely able to preserve their existence; but such was their intrepidity and heroism, that they always repulsed their foes. On one occasion (1652) a small band of twenty-four Frenchmen defeated a body of two hundred Iroquois in the immediate vicinity of Montreal. In the same year Maisonneuve again departed to procure assistance from France, and returned the following spring with three vessels and upwards of a hundred soldiers. From this period to 1663, the inhabitants of Montreal not only contrived to

repel all assaults, but had the satisfaction of witnessing a continual increase in numbers and strength, so that, in regard to rapidity of growth,* their progress exceeded that at Quebec, and excited some jealousy, which led the people of the latter city to endeavour to prevent recruits and supplies, intended for Montreal, from passing upwards. In 1663 the "Company of Montreal" was dissolved, they having already sold their rights to the religious order of St Sulpice, at Paris, by whom was founded the seminary belonging to that order still existing in the city. About this period, the inhabitants of the island suffered much from the Iroquois, who committed such atrocities that the colonists scarcely dared to leave their dwellings, either to till the soil or to gather in their harvest.

Not long afterwards, M. Maisonneuve, notwithstanding his great services to the colony and his exalted personal character, was forced to relinquish his command and to leave the colony, in consequence of the arbitrary proceedings of the Governor.† The example of courage and endurance which Maisonneuve set to his followers during the whole time of his government—upwards of twenty-three years—contributed mainly to the preservation of their lives, as well

* In 1653, the "Congregation de la Notre Dame" was founded by a Madame Bourgeois. A number of young women, as wives for the colonists, were sent out by Anne of Austria, the Queen of France. By this time numerous concessions of land on the island had been made, and the number of habitations greatly extended. We find, however, no precise record of the population until the year 1672, when it had reached fifteen hundred.

† *M. de Mesy*, the sixth Governor after Montmagny. Maisonneuve stands forth in the early history of Canada as one of its brightest ornaments. He might have been Governor in 1648 had he desired the promotion, but he declined it and recommended D'Aillebout. His expulsion by De Mesy was a result of the strong jealousy of the Company of The Hundred Associates towards the Company of Montreal, during the governorship of *D'Argenson* and of his successor, *D'Avaugour*. Maisonneuve appears to have retired to Paris, where the Seminarists allowed him a pension for his support.

as to the safety of the whole colony. It will be seen that one of his people, named Dollard, performed an extraordinary exploit in 1660, narrated in a future article, by which the fortunes of the French in Canada were sustained at one of the most critical periods of their history.*

90. Meanwhile the successive Governors, including *Montmagny*, *D'Aillebout*, the De Lausons, D'Argenson, D'Avaugour, and *De Mesy*, administering the affairs of the colony between the years 1636 and 1663, as has been already stated, and residing for the most part at Quebec, experienced every species of difficulty in the performance of their duties. But the principal source of their embarrassment was generally the hostility of their deadly enemies the Iroquois. The proofs of enmity were not confined to acts of open warfare, or exhibited only when a recognised state of war subsisted. Treachery, and bad faith in observing conditions of peace entered into with the French from time to time, characterised the conduct of those savages. Sometimes they would solemnly agree to a truce, and then, under the slightest pretext, attack and murder those whom a trust in their professions had put off their guard. Sometimes, on the river, or in the forest, they would butcher Frenchmen, alleging that their proceedings were the result of some untoward mistake, or falsely throwing the blame upon other tribes of Indians. Under all circumstances, whenever an opportunity occurred, they plundered and

* An anecdote is recorded of Maisonneuve illustrative of his pious instincts. On one occasion a sudden freshet threatened to overwhelm the habitations and storehouses of the infant settlement on the island. The water, rising higher and higher, seemed about to engulf the precious results of the colonists' labours, when, in the extremity of the danger, he had recourse to prayers, and vowed that if, by divine aid, the calamity should be averted, he would transport a heavy wooden cross on his shoulders to the summit of the mountain, and there erect it. The waters soon after subsided, and Maisonneuve as early as possible duly fulfilled his vow, in the presence of all the inhabitants, with much ceremony.

slaughtered the Indian allies of the colonists. With fire-arms and ammunition supplied by the Dutch traders—the Iroquois at times occupied the whole country except the interior of the principal French posts. No durable peace could be made with them, as was shown in 1645, when, in spite of a treaty made with them by the Governor, Frenchmen, Hurons, and Algonquins, were indiscriminately attacked and slain without the semblance of a cause. Priests and missionaries also were sometimes captured by them, mutilated, and put to death. While at work in their fields, the French were obliged to have at hand their arquebuses and other warlike weapons ready for instant use.

At one time M. d'Aillebout made overtures to the New England colonists with the view of arranging an alliance, offensive and defensive, and coupled with a condition that assistance should be rendered in putting down the Iroquois. But after some deliberation, the New Englanders rejected his proposals on account of that stipulation. The negotiations became known to the Iroquois, during one of the brief intervals of repose from active warfare. Suddenly breaking the truce, the fierce savages resumed hostilities on a large scale, and with the double purpose of exterminating the Canadian Indians, and of driving all the French out of the country. They fell upon the establishment at Sillery, and in a short time destroyed it by fire, after a fearful massacre of its inhabitants, without respect to age or sex. Everywhere outside the principal posts the French and Indian habitations were similarly dealt with, and their occupants killed. At Three Rivers, *M. du Plessis*, the commandant, was slain, together with a number of his followers, in an attempt to repel them. *Ville Marie* (Montreal) was in like manner beset, as has been already described. In the upper regions, along the river Ottawa and on the borders of Lake Huron, not only were the Huron inhabitants and

their settlements ruthlessly destroyed, but the French missionaries also were tortured and put to death.*

These atrocities continued to be committed from time to time during the greater part of the period when the Governors named at the commencement of this article ruled the country. Both the Government of France and the Company of Associates neglected to furnish succour, or did so to an extent which failed to repair the actual loss of life suffered by the colonists in the unequal contest. The colony at length reached the verge of ruin, for Frenchmen could neither till their lands nor pass from one post to another without the risk of being killed or carried off into captivity. Respecting this calamitous period, it is recorded

* In 1646, the Jesuit priest *Isaac Jogues*, who had formerly suffered frightful tortures and been mutilated by the *Mohawks*, was put to death by these barbarians, while on an embassy to treat of peace. In 1648, *Anthony Daniel* was killed, and his body hacked and thrown among the burning embers of his missionary station in the Huron country. In 1649, *Gabriel Lalemant* and *John Brebœuf*, two of the most distinguished of the Jesuit missionaries, were taken at their station among the Hurons by an invading band of Iroquois, and murdered, after suffering, during many hours, all the torments which the barbarians could devise. Brebœuf was the most noted of all the Jesuit missionaries of Canada. The frightful details of his death, and that of Lalemant, are described by *John Shea* in his "History of the Catholic Missions," pp. 188–191. This author, after mentioning the other particulars, thus describes the closing scene:—"While the rest like fiends danced around him, slicing off his flesh to devour it before his eyes, or cauterising the wounds with heated stones and hatchets, these placed a cauldron of water on the fire. 'Echon,' cried the mockers, 'thou hast told us that the more we suffer here the brighter will be our crown in heaven. Thank us, then, for we are laying up for thee a priceless one.' When the water was heated, they tore off his scalp, and thrice, in derision of baptism, poured it over his head amid the loud shouts of the unbelievers. The eye of the martyr was now dim, and the torturers, unable, from first to last, to wring from his lips one sigh of pain, were eager to close the scene. Hacking off his feet, they clove open his chest, took out his noble heart, and devoured it."

Some portions of the remains of Brebœuf were afterwards carried to Quebec, and his head enclosed in a silver bust sent from France by his family, which belonged to the nobility of that country, and was connected

that "from Tadoussac to Quebec, thence to Three Rivers, and all the way to Ville Marie, there was nothing but traces of bloodshed and havoc." Those towns, indeed, were kept by the Iroquois in a state of siege; nor could their defenders derive any assistance from their Indian allies, since these had been compelled to disperse in every direction. Several hundreds of the unhappy fugitives had been allowed to take refuge on the Island of Orleans, where at first they seemed to be safe from their merciless foes. But the result proved that even there they were exposed to massacre, so that at length only a small remnant survived, who were brought within the enclosures of Quebec. The Hurons and Algonquins were, in fact, as a people, utterly destroyed.*

with the English Earls of Arundel. The bust is still at the Hotel Dieu, Quebec.

In addition to the above-mentioned cases of priests captured and killed or maltreated by the Iroquois, a number of others might be cited, especially that of M. Vignal, on the island of Montreal, in October 1661. On the 25th day of the month he, with a party of Frenchmen, went to inspect the works connected with the building of the house of the St Sulpicians, in front of Ville Marie. The Iroquois, with the ferocity of hungry wolves, threw themselves upon the French, killed some and wounded Vignal, so that he could not escape being captured. Seizing him, they dragged him over the ground amongst the bushes and through the water. His wounds and the violence with which he was treated, soon put an end to his life, when portions of his body were roasted and eaten, and the rest thrown into a fire and consumed.

* The *Hurons* here referred to, before these disasters befell them, consisted of upwards of thirty thousand souls, and occupied a very fine territory between Lake Simcoe and Lake Huron, containing nearly twenty populous villages.

The *Algonquins* were spread in detached bodies throughout Canada, but some of their more numerous tribes, previously to this period, occupied portions of the Upper Ottawa district and the *Allumette Island*.

In the year 1649, bands of fugitive Hurons were located on the Island of Orleans under French protection, and in July 1650 were joined by the relics of their people from above. Between then and 1659 they continued from time to time to be harassed by the Iroquois, even up to the very enclosures of Quebec. Eight years later (in the time of Tracy), they were

During the ten or twelve years following upon the fearful disasters which befell the Hurons and Algonquins, the triumphant Iroquois, without fear and interruption, overran the depopulated hunting-grounds, while they continued their warfare upon the French. The latter, about the year 1660, reduced to great extremity, had every reason to apprehend that their enemies would make their long meditated attack in force sufficient to effect their complete ruin or expulsion from Canada. Had the Iroquois, who now commanded all the means of access to the principal posts with large bodies of their warriors, resolutely followed up their project, they might have been successful. But they were induced to relinquish their design by an incident which deserves especial mention in this place.

91. Towards the close of the winter of 1659–60, a party of Hurons from among those who had taken refuge in Quebec started on the war-path, with the view of destroying such of the prowling bands of the Iroquois as they might encounter on their old hunting-grounds near the Ottawa. At Three Rivers they were joined by a few Algonquins, and pursued their route thence to Montreal. Here sixteen Frenchmen, along with their captain, *M. Dollard*, swelled their numbers to upwards of sixty combatants. Ascending the rapids above Ville Marie, they turned to the right, as if to make for the Huron hunting-grounds. At a spot on the bank of the Ottawa they established themselves as securely and secretly as possible, lying in wait for their enemy. The

settled at St Foyê, and twenty-six years later still, in 1693, they were made to form the settlement of *Old Lorette*. Lastly, in 1700, the settlement of *New Lorette*, seven miles from Quebec, was established, and here their descendants are still to be seen.

Those of the unfortunate survivors of this once numerous people who did not come to Quebec, scattered themselves in all directions over the continent. Thus, as stated in the text, their destruction as a people was complete.

Iroquois soon discovered them, and advanced to attack their position with upwards of two hundred warriors. These were repelled with slaughter, but being reinforced by about five hundred more, the French and their allies found themselves completely surrounded by a force from which it became impossible to escape. During about ten days they resisted the most strenuous exertions of assailants ten times their number, irritated by their resistance, and thirsting for vengeance. Being at length overpowered, the gallant Dollard and his band were all killed, excepting five Frenchmen and four Hurons, who were captured and reserved for a fate more terrible than that of their slaughtered comrades. The captives were carried off and distributed among the several tribes of the five nations, by whom, with every circumstance of barbarity, they were nearly all subjected to bodily torments until released by death. Three of the captives, however, Hurons, contrived to escape, independently of each other, and eventually made their way to Quebec, each bringing information which disclosed the details of the terrible tragedy. According to their narratives, the heroism of the seventeen devoted Frenchmen was such as to make a deep impression on the minds of the Iroquois savages. Witnessing the valour and powers of endurance by which the assaults of seven hundred assailants had been resisted, during ten days, by so small a number of Frenchmen, as well as the calmness and contempt of bodily torture which the survivors manifested, they came to the conclusion that their meditated attack upon the French posts at Three Rivers and Quebec was too hazardous. Accordingly, they abandoned their main design,* and thus the gallant conduct and self-devotion of

* The plans of the Iroquois for accomplishing the extinction of French rule in Canada may be thus generally stated :—Upwards of twelve hundred warriors were to assemble in the vicinity of Ville Marie (Montreal) in the spring

Dollard and his companions, though fatal to themselves, were probably instrumental in rescuing the entire colony from destruction.*

of 1660. They were to descend the St Lawrence to Quebec, and, making their attack while most of the inhabitants were out in the fields, ploughing and sowing seed, to destroy that city and all settlements in its vicinity, and to kill or capture the inhabitants. This done, they were next to assail Three Rivers, and finally Montreal. News of the project was brought to Quebec by friendly Indians, and occasioned great alarm, especially when the Ursuline nuns were seen to quit their more exposed habitations and take up their quarters in the buildings of the Jesuits. The people flocked from their dwellings into the houses of the religious bodies, or barricaded themselves in the lower town. A garrison of twenty-four men was stationed in the Ursuline buildings, redoubts raised near these, and a dozen large dogs placed to guard the gates. Nearly every one was very much frightened. The alarm subsided as soon as the escaped Hurons brought word of Dollard's exploit and the consequent retirement of the Iroquois.

* Mr Garneau, in his History, gives a rather confused account of this episode, styling the French leader *Doulac*. *Charlevoix* omits to mention the affair. For the original authority the reader is referred to "Relations des Jesuits—Relation de la Nouvelle France en l'année 1660," vol. iii. p. 14 *et seq.*

Other works, professing to be Annals or *Histories* of Canada, omit to make mention of the gallantry of Dollard and its important results—such as "*The Beauties of the History of New France or Canada*"—"*History of Canada, by l'Abbe Brasseur.*" *Ferland*, with his well-known earnest fidelity, does not fail to narrate the leading facts.

CHAPTER XII.

PARTICULARS RESPECTING THE GOVERNORS FROM 1636-1663—MONTMAGNY—D'AILLEBOUT—JEAN AND CHARLES DE LAUSON—D'ARGENSON—D'AVAUGOUR—ECCLESIASTICAL AFFAIRS—M. LAVAL—LIQUOR TRAFFIC—DEPLORABLE STATE OF THE COLONY.

92. MONTMAGNY, who was Governor from 1636 to 1648, and nearly all his successors from that year to 1663, were men of great courage and ability, presiding over the affairs of the colony during a period which has been styled "the heroic age of New France." The character of Montmagny is summed up in the "History of the Ursulines of Quebec" as that of a man who "left behind him an eternal memory of his prudence and sagacity." He was remarkable no less on account of his devotional spirit, manifested on all occasions, than for his courage and dignified demeanour. The chiefs of the Canadian Indians, and even those of the Iroquois, entertained a great respect for him. He built Fort Richelieu in 1642, in order to check the incursions of the Iroquois. Although he was desirous of relinquishing his office on several occasions, because the responsible duties could not be efficiently performed in the absence of adequate assistance from France, which he applied for in vain, yet, at the instance of the Company of Associates, his commission was renewed from time to time by the King, until the year 1648. At length his request to be recalled was complied with, and he returned to his native land to die. During his administration of twelve years, he proved himself to be a loyal servant of his King, a faithful promoter of the interests of the Company, a true

son of his Church, and possessed of much tact in conducting the critical affairs of the colony.

Le Mercier, in the "Jesuit Relations," bears the following testimony to the noble character of Montmagny:—

"All the principal persons in our colony honour religion, and virtue here holds her head high. Is it not a highly commendable sight to behold soldiers and artisans, Frenchmen and savages, dwelling together peaceably, and enjoying the good-will of each other? This sort of miracle has been brought about by the prudence and sagacity of M. Montmagny, our Governor; and, in saying this, I believe I express the sentiments of all under his government. We owe very great obligations to our great King, to the Cardinal, and to the members of the Company, for having given us a man so valiant and so conversant with all kinds of knowledge, so fitted for command, and, above all, so greatly interested for the glory of God. His example draws all after him. Justice reigns here, insolence is banished, and impudence dare not raise her head. But when this our Governor leaves us, we know not who may succeed him; so, may God preserve him for us a long time, as it is extremely important to introduce good laws and virtuous customs in these early beginnings, and those who are to come after us will easily follow in our footsteps the examples we afford them, whether of good or of evil."*

93. *M. d'Ailleboût*, on the recommendation of Maisonneuve, the founder of Montreal, was appointed to succeed Montmagny. He became first connected with Canada as a member of the Company of Montreal. He brought out

* In honour of this Governor the island now called "Isle of Jesus" was formerly named "*L'Isle de Montmagny.*" According to the ancient description given in the Relations, it was bounded on the north by the river *St Jean*, and on the south by the river "*Des Prairies.*" These are merely parts of the river Ottawa, north of the Island of Montreal, from which Isle Jesus is separated by the Des Prairiés.

a body of sixty retainers in 1645, and settled on the island. During the times when Maisonneuve was absent he performed the duties of commandant, and rendered valuable services in devising and superintending the construction of the defences required for the protection of the colonists. His governorship began in 1648 and ended in 1651, but afterwards, between 1657 and 1658, he discharged the functions of Lieutenant-Governor until the arrival of the new Governor, D'Argenson. He was an excellent military officer, although, in the absence of adequate succour from France, he was scarcely able to prevent the colony from succumbing under the attacks of the Iroquois. His endeavours to secure an alliance between Canada and the New England colonies have been already mentioned. D'Ailleboût, like his predecessors Champlain and Montmagny, was a man of great piety. His bearing and conduct towards members of religious orders were such as to secure their highest regard, while he enjoyed the respect of all, on account of his services to the colony, his sagacity, and military qualities.

In 1650, when the house of the Ursulines at Quebec was destroyed by fire, he not only exercised his authority, as Governor, in caring for the protection of all the inmates, who, through that calamity, were suddenly deprived of their home and effects, but assisted them in every way; furnishing, from his own private stores, provisions and other necessaries in a time of scarcity.*

* The burning of the house of the Ursulines, in the night of December 30, 1650, was an event in which the whole colony felt the deepest concern. Full accounts of it are given in the History of the Ursulines of Quebec and also in the Relations. Although it began after all had retired to rest, and, by its suddenness and violence, compelled the inmates to escape as they best could, in their night-clothes, yet no lives were lost. The weather at the time was intensely cold, and the ground covered with snow. The Ursulines lost all they had. They were afterwards encouraged to rebuild, instead of returning to France. The other religious

In 1651, he was superseded by a new Governor, *M. de Lauson*, into whose hands D'Aillebout resigned his power

bodies, as well as M. d'Aillebout, assisted them in doing so with loans of money and their credit. The Governor himself and Madame d'Aillebout furnished the designs or plans; and the former, as temporal father of the community, did all he could towards the restoration of their useful establishment.

One of the most touching incidents connected with the disaster of the Ursulines occurred a short time after the fire, when they were temporarily lodged in the Hotel Dieu, where the *Hospitalieres* received them with the utmost kindness and charity. Proofs of sympathy had reached them from every quarter—all classes of the French and the Indians combining to manifest the concern so universally entertained. But the poor Hurons, who then occupied at least 400 cabins in the neighbourhood of the hospital, excelled others in this respect. They held a council, and finding that their utmost wealth consisted in the possession of two *porcelain collars*, each composed of 1200 grains or rings, they resolved to go in a body to the Hotel Dieu, and offer these as a present, along with their condolences. Their chief, *Taieronk*, made an oration, commencing: "You behold in us poor creatures the relics of a flourishing nation now no more. In our Huron country, we have been devoured and gnawed to the very bones by war and famine; nor could these carcases of ours stand upright but for the support we have derived from you. You have learned from others, and now you see with your own eyes, the extremity of misery to which we have been reduced. Look well at us, and judge if in our own case we have not much to lament, and to cause us, without ceasing, to shed torrents of tears. But, alas! this deplorable accident which has befallen you is a renewal of our afflictions. To see that beautiful habitation burnt,—to see that house of charity reduced to cinders,—to see the flames raging there without respect to your sacred persons—this reminds us of that universal conflagration which destroyed our dwellings, our villages, and our whole country! Must fire, then, follow us thus everywhere? . . . . But courage, sacred beings! our first present of 1200 grains of porcelain is to confirm your resolution to continue your affection and heavenly charity towards us poor savages, and to attach your feet to the soil of this country, so that no regard for your own friends and native land will be strong enough to tear you away. Our second present is to designate the laying anew of the foundations of an edifice which shall again be a house of God and of prayers, and in which you can again hold your classes for the instruction of our little Huron girls."

This fire is known as the "first fire of the house of the Ursulines of Quebec," for the second edifice, erected on the same foundations as the former one, was subsequently burnt down in the year 1672.

in the month of October, and retired to the Island of Montreal, where, during the absence of Maisonneuve, he performed the duties of his former superior officer and friend. Some years later, D'Aillebout was again called upon to exercise the functions of Lieutenant-Governor of Canada, prior to the arrival of M. d'Argenson, in 1658. During the year in which he thus officiated a second time, the course of events afforded him fresh opportunities of displaying his sagacity and fitness for the supreme command. The Iroquois had now for ten years maintained the practice of using the ancient hunting-grounds of the Hurons as their own; and also carried on hostilities against the French, infesting their posts and settlements everywhere. Occasionally there were intervals of doubtful peace, during which the colonists found it necessary to be always on their guard, since the Iroquois were only treacherous friends, scarcely less to be dreaded than open enemies. One of their objects was to detach the Algonquins and the relics of the Huron nation from their alliance with the French, and to induce as many of them as possible to remove and settle in their own territory, south of Lake Ontario. In this design, they partially succeeded, for, distributed amongst the Iroquois cantons, there were already many Hurons, either as captives or fugitives, who had thrown themselves on the mercy of their destroyers since 1648. Moreover, it was insidiously represented to the Canadian Indians, that a removal to the cantons would enable them to rejoin many relatives and friends. In many instances, however, parties of Hurons and Algonquins, who had listened to these proposals of the Iroquois, were treacherously robbed and murdered on the route to the bourgades of their pretended friends.

About the time when D'Aillebout resumed the governorship of the colony, the Iroquois were very active in nego-

tiating with the Hurons on the Island of Orleans. These had even promised to migrate in a body, but when the period arrived for fulfilling the promise, they refused; and, not feeling safe on the island, applied to the Governor for protection. This D'Aillebout accorded by allowing the remnant of their number to move to Quebec and establish their cabins in the vicinity of Fort St Lotiis.

In the course of 1658, several Frenchmen were killed by Iroquois, although a truce existed at the time. D'Aillebout, in consequence, issued orders to capture all Iroquois who should present themselves about any of the French posts, and that the prisoners should be held as hostages, and as means of exacting penalties for the murders which had been committed. This wise measure brought deputies from the Mohawks to Quebec to endeavour to recover the captives belonging to their tribe. In the conference which was held, D'Aillebout severely reproached the Iroquois for their bad faith, and refused to release the prisoners or to accept the proffered presents.* After a time, he set a few at liberty, still retaining the others as hostages. By such means, the semblance of amity, at least, was forced upon the Iroquois, who dreaded nothing more than that their captive friends should be made responsible for wrongs done to the French. D'Aillebout relinquished the government of the colony in July 1658, on the arrival of M. d'Argenson. He again retired to Montreal, where he died in 1660.

* "I am surprised," said the Governor, "that you regard me as a child. You treat me like a dog. When a dog is chastised, it is expected to return and fawn upon the hand which beat it. You Iroquois, kill my people, and then come to me with a porcelain collar. Be quiet, you say, we are friends. But listen! The French understand war. They will no longer permit your deceptions. I have only one word for you, and that is, give satisfaction. Abandon treason. Make war if you will not have peace. If my wishes are not respected, the collars which you bring as presents will be used as halters to hang your people as enemies."

94. *De Lauson* succeeded to the governorship in 1651. He was an influential member of the Company of One Hundred Associates. His appointment as Governor was made at his own request, for he supposed that by proceeding to Canada in person he could restore the fortunes of the colony. On his arrival in October 1651, he found its affairs in a much worse condition than he had supposed. The audacity of the Iroquois, and their active hostility against the French, had reached their highest pitch, and at all the principal posts the distressed colonists could save their lives only by remaining in a state of siege. It was in the year following this Governor's arrival that the conflict already alluded to occurred, in which the commandant at Three Rivers (*M. du Plessis Bochart*), and fifteen of his followers, were killed in an attempt to repulse the enemy. This was the most disastrous check which the French arms had sustained, for besides those slain a considerable number had fallen into the hands of the Iroquois as prisoners, and were carried off to the cantons. Moreover, the confidence of the Iroquois was increased, while distrust and alarm spread through the colony. Fortunately, in October following, the French partially neutralised the effects of the disaster by inflicting a signal defeat upon the Iroquois. In 1653, De Lauson caused it to be intimated to the enemy that the colony was on the point of receiving reinforcements which would enable him to repulse all their attacks, and to chastise them severely. He referred more particularly to the expected arrival of M. Maisonneuve, who, in effect, did reach Quebec on the 27th September, with a hundred recruits. In the meantime, the majority of the Iroquois tribes suddenly made proposals of peace. After the customary conference with deputies, and the celebration of many ceremonies, these were accepted. To the French, on many accounts, a cessation of hostilities was indispensably neces-

sary;* but De Lauson has been censured for granting two important concessions. One was the permission to a considerable number of Hurons under his protection to secede and join the Iroquois, in accordance with their demand. The other consisted in acquiescing in the destruction of the Eries or Cat Indians, whose part the Iroquois stipulated should not be taken by the French. The Eries were a haughty and powerful tribe, inhabiting the southern shore

* In the Relation of 1653, chap. vii., a striking account is given of the enormous falling-off in the material resources of the colony owing to the state of warfare with the Iroquois. The trade in *beaver-skins*, the use of the rivers and lakes for fishing, and the cultivation of the soil—in fact, all the ordinary means to which the colonists could have recourse for commerce and for subsistence,—were interrupted, and for the most part brought to an end for the time being. It is stated, that "never were there so many beavers in our lakes and rivers, but never so few skins seen in our magazines. Before the ruin of the Hurons, hundreds of canoes loaded with beavers used to come. The Algonquins, also, brought them from all parts. Every year, we used to have from two to three hundred thousand livres' worth. Without this source of revenue, how could the most necessary expenses of the colony be paid? . . . . But now, as we have peace with the Iroquois, three canoes, conducted by a converted savage, have brought us word that next spring there will come people to the number of two thousand, from a beautiful country, 150 leagues further west than the Hurons, bringing an immense number of beavers to exchange with us for arms and ammunition and ordinary articles of traffic; and our own young men are to go forth to seek the tribes dispersed here and there, and whom they expect to find in possession of the spoils of the chase, accumulated during several past years. In a word, the country is not suffering by the extermination of its beavers,—for these animals, forming its wealth, have multiplied in great abundance,—but from the Iroquois hindering the traffic. As for the fertility of our soil and the suitableness of the herbage for domestic animals, and the condition of these, they are beyond what all dared to hope, not to speak of the deer and other game in the forest; but in regard to salmon, sturgeon, and other products of our waters, this is the very empire of waters valuable for fish, especially for eels, of which the abundance surpasses belief. In a single night, one or two men can take five or six thousand weight of this species of fish, and the fishing continues two months, long enough to afford a supply for the whole year; and when dried or salted, are much superior to the eels of France. It is the Iroquois alone of whom complaint can be made."

of the lake which derived its name from them.* The Eries considered themselves a match for the Iroquois, and, being jealous of them, and desirous of arresting the extension of their power, provoked a contest with them. The result was a desperate battle in 1655, in which the warriors of the Five Nations—chiefly Senecas—were completely victorious. The conquered Eries were mercilessly slaughtered, and their nation extirpated.† The peace, such as it was, which this Governor had concluded with the Iroquois, was brought about mainly by the intervention of Jesuit missionaries; but, in reality, it was of short duration, and was soon seen to be little better than a hollow truce. Having conquered the Eries and other western tribes, the Iroquois considered it a matter of indifference whether the French were friendly or not, and behaved themselves accordingly. De Lauson, upwards of seventy years of age, and inclined to pursue a pacific policy, would not, or could not, repress their insolence. In consequence of this and other circumstances, he became very unpopular in the colony, and departed for France in 1656, before the close of his term of office, leaving his son, and after him M. d'Aillebout, to govern in his stead.

De Lauson had underrated the difficulties of the task which he had sought to perform; but, although his administration of affairs was unsuccessful, he has been considered worthy of respect on account of his concern for the welfare of the country and his pious disposition, in which last particular he resembled his predecessors. His son remained only a short time, during which he appears to

* It is said that their settlements were near to the site of the modern city Buffalo, or "*Tushuway.*"

† *Colonel Charles Whittlesey* gives an interesting account of the Indian version of the particulars of the jealousies which led to this decisive war, and of the sanguinary conflict by which it was ended.—*Early History of Cleveland, Ohio,* pp. 58-71, published in 1867.

have been chiefly occupied in preparations for following his father.

95. *M. d'Argenson* was appointed Governor in 1657, but did not arrive at Quebec until July 1658. The affairs of the colony, as has been already stated, were, during the interval, administered by D'Aillebout. He was a young man of thirty-two or thirty-three years of age at the time of his arrival. His reputation for courage, address, and sagacity, was high. Sustained by an adequate military force, he might have secured to the province peace and permanent prosperity. But France neglected to furnish soldiers, the Iroquois overran the country, and the new Governor soon discovered that he was powerless to protect the lives and property of the colonists. Scarcely was he installed in his office,* when the cry "To arms!" summoned him to take the field for the purpose of repelling foes who had made an attack in the immediate vicinity of his head-quarters.

His personal character is thus described in the "History of the Ursulines of Quebec:"—"The Governor is an accomplished gentleman in regard to personal qualities, and

* "The Governors, from the earliest times of Canadian history, were usually received with all the distinction that the circumstances of the colony admitted of. As soon as D'Argenson's ship cast anchor off Quebec, D'Aillebout went on board to pay his respects, leaving all the male inhabitants of the city under arms on the bank of the river. The new Governor then landed, having sent before him his secretary, with M. D'Aillebout, to deliver his acknowledgments to the people. Placing himself at their head, D'Aillebout conducted D'Argenson to the Fort or Castle of St Louis, all marching in good order. There the keys of the fort were handed over, while the cannon on the ramparts and on board the vessels fired a salute, which resounded over the waters and forests. The Governor then, after taking formal possession of the Castle, paid visits to the Parish Church, the Chapel of the Jesuits, the Hospital, and the House of the Ursulines. On the next day, when sitting down to dinner with his invited guests, the alarm occurred which is mentioned in the text."—*Relation of* 1586.

one who has in his habits always exhibited an example of rare virtue."

Although he made several excursions at the head of such forces as could be mustered, he was unable to administer any effectual check to the fierce persecutors of the colony. All the French posts were continually infested by them, and, within the space of a few months, upwards of eighty Frenchmen were killed, besides many carried into captivity. The Hurons and Algonquins were dealt with in the same manner everywhere, even in the immediate neighbourhood of the forts. The Mohawks (*Agniers*) especially seemed to take delight in massacring the unfortunate remnant of those tribes wherever they could be found. D'Argenson's health gave way under the fatigue and annoyance of his fruitless efforts to chastise the invaders. The Superior of the Ursulines, in allusion to these, says—"M. le Governeur has made appear from day to day his zeal for the preservation and augmentation of the colony; he applies himself to render justice to all. I have informed you of his care for our safety during the alarms caused by the Iroquois, coming himself several times to our convent to visit and fortify the places and station guards. He is a man of exalted virtue and without reproach; but, I tell you in confidence, that he has suffered much in this country, having no power to bring succours from France. His obvious inability to repel the Iroquois has helped to weaken his health. He has afforded a good example to both French and savages." *

* The Iroquois, in fact, were virtually masters of the country. The colonists, in spite of the example of Dollard's devoted band, were gradually losing the spirit and courage of Frenchmen in consequence of the incessant persecution of their numerous and ferocious enemies, so that the brave Governor D'Argenson was scarcely able, on urgent occasions, to induce them to follow him into combat. The pass to which things had come may be inferred from the following extract from the Relation of 1660, pp. 4, 5: —"The Iroquois interrupt all our joys, and are the great evil of New

Among the events of moment which occurred during the administration of M. d'Argenson were the coming out of *M. Laval*, of whom more particular mention is made further on, and the arrival of very considerable supplies and inhabitants for the Island of Montreal, in the year 1659. About this time, also, the Iroquois were making their preparations for a final and decisive assault upon the enfeebled colony, which, as has been already narrated, was indebted for its salvation from ruin to the heroism and devotion of Dollard, and the small force under his command. Notwithstanding the relief afforded to all by the event last

France, which is in danger of complete desolation, unless France furnishes prompt and strong succours; for, in truth, nothing would be easier than for these barbarians to destroy all our habitations amidst fire and blood, excepting only Quebec. The source of this advantage to the enemy is the absence of defences at the country settlements, which are eight or ten leagues apart along the banks of the St Lawrence, with only three or four men generally in each house. The Iroquois warriors are so crafty in their approach, so sudden in their attack, and so prompt in their retreat, that ordinarily, their departure gives the first intelligence of their coming. They approach like foxes, attack like lions, and then flee like birds, disappearing more swiftly than they came. What would be more easy than for the eight or ten hundred Iroquois spread through the country to make one general surprise, and, killing all our men in a single day, to carry off the women and children into captivity? Even with superior numbers, we dare not follow them into the forests. It is a sort of miracle that they have not already destroyed us, seeing how easy for them that would be. Last spring the alarm was such that the houses in the country were all abandoned, and all the people, crowding into Quebec, gave themslves up for lost, when M. d'Argenson, our Governor, endeavoured to re-assure them by his courage and wise conduct, placing all the posts in the city into good order. . . . But if France would send only two regiments of soldiers, the Iroquois could be exterminated. The greater part of our people are better accustomed to use the hoe than the sword. A short time since, our Governor chased a party of Iroquois in boats. The Iroquois made for the bank and retired. The French were ordered to land and pursue. But not a man stirred. It was only when the Governor threw himself into the stream, and waded ashore up to the middle in water, that the crews took courage and followed him. Good soldiers would have advanced before their general."

mentioned, the loss of those brave men, coupled with the death of M. d'Aillebout on the 21st of May 1660, at Montreal, was very sensibly felt. The Governor, and every one besides, saw that the time was approaching when Canada must succumb to her relentless adversaries, unless the Government of France could be made to recognise the necessity of forwarding aid sufficient to deliver the colonists from ruin, and to effectually chastise the Iroquois, by carrying the war into their own territory. With the purpose of bringing the case properly under the cognisance of the court, recourse was had to Le Jeune, the ancient friend of Champlain. He had been recalled to France in 1639, but had never ceased to feel a deep concern in the welfare of a colony in whose earlier struggles he had taken so active a part. Le Jeune interceded with Louis XIV., to whom the condition of his distant province was explained, and from whom a promise of succour was obtained.

But Louis, "occupied with fêtes in celebration of the birth of a Dauphin, had little leisure for concerning himself about an obscure and distant colony, consisting of only a few hundred Frenchmen; while the Company of One Hundred Associates would trouble itself no more about New France, except to press its claim for the thousand-weight of beaver-skins, which the country was unable to pay." *

Meanwhile, M. d'Argenson, in addition to his other difficulties, found himself involved in embarrassments with M. Laval, growing out of questions about precedence and the liquor traffic, against which, although it was sustained by a strong party both in the colony and in France, the ecclesiastic resolutely set his face. With broken health, and hopeless of the future of the province, he determined, if possible, to withdraw from the scene of so much suffering and uncertainty, and his application to be recalled was

* Ferland, vol. i. p. 165.

acceded to. His successor, *D'Avaugour*, arrived at Quebec August 31, 1661, and on the 19th of the following month D'Argenson sailed for France.

96. The new Governor, *Baron d'Avaugour*, a brave old soldier, occupied himself, during the first few weeks after his arrival, in visiting the several posts, and making himself acquainted with the affairs of the colony. His explorations finished, he expressed his astonishment that his predecessor should have been able to bear up so long under such discouraging circumstances. An almost complete desolation prevailed. Many of the French colonists were undergoing cruel sufferings in captivity in the Iroquois settlements; whence, from time to time, news reached Quebec of the resolution to inflict the final blow that should rid the country of Europeans. Resources were wholly wanting, whether for standing a siege or for repelling any concerted attack which their enemies might choose to make. The colony, in fact, was tottering on the very brink of destruction.

While affairs were in this hapless condition, the prospect was suddenly brightened by an unexpected occurrence. Deputies from two of the Iroquois tribes, the *Onondagas* and *Cayugas*, presented themselves with four French prisoners, and bearing a flag of truce. Their object was, in the first place, to procure the release of eight of their compatriots, held in captivity by the French. The chief of the embassy, moreover, was, in former times, a friend of the French missionaries, whom he had frequently entertained in his own lodge; and this man had conceived the idea of soliciting them to send one of their number home with the deputation, to treat of peace, and the opening of a mission in the country of the Onondagas.

The Governor summoned a meeting of the inhabitants of Quebec to deliberate on the proposals of the deputies.

The Jesuits had never yet receded from any demand for their services under any circumstances, however menacing to their own personal safety. Yet, in the present case, treachery was apprehended by the authorities. But the deputies gave them to understand that, unless their proposals should be accepted, there could be no peace, and that the lives of the French captives in the cantons depended upon the answer they should take back. Reluctant as the colonists were to confide in the declarations and promises of envoys from a people who had a hundred times before perpetrated acts of treachery, both towards their own countrymen and towards their Indian allies, yet, such was the extremely critical state of their fortunes, that they decided upon releasing the eight prisoners, and on allowing a Jesuit priest to accompany them to the Iroquois settlements. In the Relation of 1661 it is recorded, that "Simon le Moyne had the honour to be called upon to expose his life" in the cantons of their enemies—a call to which he eagerly responded.* This opportune occurrence, which resulted in the immediate restoration of nine French prisoners, and a promise to release eleven more, together with Le Moyne, in the spring ensuing, afforded breathing-time to the distressed colonists. On their way back, the party of prisoners, under the charge of a chief, *Garakonthie*, and a few warriors, fell in with a band of Onondagas, pursuing their route to the cantons. These men had recently massacred some French colonists near Montreal, and were returning with the *scalps*—the hideous trophies of success. Garakonthie† had some difficulty in preventing his

* On *four* former occasions he had visited the Iroquois settlements at the risk of his life. He was well known to several of their chiefs, who were friendly to him personally.

† This famous chieftain, a convert to Christianity, had very great influence with his countrymen, although he energetically denounced their superstitions and cruel practices, as well as their gluttony, drunkenness, and

countrymen from falling upon his helpless charge, but at length succeeded, and brought all safe to Canada.

Le Moyne and the other French prisoners, chiefly through the continued exercise of Garakonthie's influence, were restored in August 1662, to the very great joy of all in the colony. The hopes of the colonists were encouraged by other circumstances of a favourable nature. One was the arrival, in 1662, of a company of regular soldiers from France, who were despatched by the King as an earnest of his good intentions. The inhabitants had deputed *M. Boucher*, commandant of Three Rivers, to follow up the appeal through Le Jeune, and afterwards by D'Argenson, on his return to France, and to implore his Majesty to furnish immediate assistance. The King promised, at the same time, to send out a whole regiment the following year, for the purpose of attacking the Iroquois in their own quarters.

The troops, despatched in advance, were embarked in two vessels of war, and were placed under the command of *M. Dumont*, who received directions to investigate and report on the state of the colony.

On board the same ships upwards of two hundred colonists sailed for Canada, in charge of M. Boucher. The arrival of the troops and of this considerable body of emigrants inspired the inhabitants with great joy.

Another source of encouragement was the diminished activity of the warfare within the territory of the colony. The Mohawks and Oneidas continued, on a smaller scale, to harass them with hostilities; for the negotiations which had been carried on with the Onondagas and Cayugas had not bound the other cantons to a state of peace. At this

other vices. He figures conspicuously as a peacemaker and negotiator between the Iroquois and Governors D'Argenson, D'Avaugour, De Tracy, De Courcelle, and La Barre.

time, however, the majority of the Iroquois warriors were engaged in making war upon other tribes situated in the south and west, and upon the Abenaquis and Etchemins in the east. For this reason no considerable force could be spared for executing their former designs upon Canada. Moreover, in several of their expeditions against other tribes, the Iroquois met with repulses. The Abenaquis, as brave as themselves, proved equal to their own defence. The *Ottawas*, near Lake Huron, including the *Chippewas*, inflicted a severe defeat upon the invading Mohawks and Oneidas, after drawing them into an ambuscade. The Onondagas, Cayugas, and Senecas, while advancing, as if to an easy conquest, against the *Andastes*, found themselves baffled by superior tactics, and were forced to retire, carrying along with them an infectious disorder (*the small-pox*), which spread through their villages, and caused much loss of life.

Thus the French enjoyed a species of respite from warfare and massacre on the large scale to which, of late years, they had been exposed, and were at least able to face and repulse the diminished bands of adversaries, though incapable of pursuing them into their own settlements and inflicting the punishment they deserved.

The brave Governor was chagrined at his inability to put an end to their aggressions by a signal defeat. He was a man of energy, imperious will, and obstinate; and when the promised succours from France failed to arrive, the disappointment, added to other grounds of vexation, soured his temper, and impaired his ability to tolerate opposition, or to deal judiciously with the civil business of the colony. The relaxed efforts of external foes admitted of greater attention than heretofore to internal affairs. Particular causes of dissension, which, though not altogether new, now manifested themselves more plainly, produced a want of harmony be-

tween the civil and ecclesiastical authorities. The full statement of these causes must be reserved for a future article. For the present, it is sufficient to say that the Governor and the chief functionary of the Church, M. Laval, disagreed on several subjects, principally on that of the *liquor traffic*. The difference was attended with consequences of so much importance, that Laval deemed it to be his duty to proceed to France, and complain to the King. Moved by Laval's representations, Louis recalled the Governor, and appointed M. de Mesy in his stead.

Although thus superseded, D'Avaugour retired without any discredit to his military reputation. Soon after his return to Europe he was promoted to a command in the service of the Emperor of Austria, and was killed in 1664, defending a fortress against the Turks.*

97. We have arrived at a period of Canadian history when important changes were about to be made in what may be called the "Political Constitution" of the colony. But in order to apprehend rightly the course of events some time before and long after this epoch, we must here enter into some particulars relative to its religious affairs, and to causes of dissension among the colonists.

It has already been recorded in this history that the first teachers of religion came out to the colony in 1615, and

* It is worthy of mention that D'Avaugour, during the first year of his residence in Canada, and after he had made the tour of inspection noticed in the text, prepared and sent home to the French Minister a remarkable report of the state of the country, its natural resources, rivers, lakes, and beautiful scenery, and including various suggestions. His subordinate also, M. Boucher, when he went to France as deputy of the inhabitants to the court, published an exposition of the circumstances rendering Canada eligible as a place of settlement. Again, when D'Avaugour finally relinquished his post as Governor, he prepared a memoir on the state of the country, recommending the French nation to establish itself strongly there, to fortify Quebec and Point Levi, and to send out three thousand soldiers to settle on the lands.

that they were of the Franciscan order of *Recollets*. In 1625, Jesuit missionaries joined them, and performed missionary services. The Company of One Hundred Associates, and subsequently the inhabitants, were bound to maintain the clergy in consideration of being allowed the advantages of the peltry traffic.

In 1657 a head was appointed, M. Laval, under the title of *Apostolic Vicar*. M. Laval was also of the episcopal rank as Bishop of *Petræa*.* From his first coming to Canada he exercised episcopal functions. Before Laval, *M. de Queylus*, the founder of the *Seminary of St Sulpice* in Montreal, had been empowered by the Bishop of Rouen to exercise the functions of a chief ecclesiastic in Canada. Queylus at first refused to acknowledge Laval's ecclesiastical authority, but was eventually interdicted, and ordered home to France.

Under Laval, the Jesuit missionary system, as an independent clerical institution in Canada, was virtually abolished, and the settled portions of the country divided into parishes.

The Recollets had been excluded from the country, or prevented from returning to it, when its restoration to France by England took place in 1632. The Jesuit order alone was then had recourse to for supplying the colonists' religious wants, and many years elapsed before the Recollets again obtained a footing.

Laval, as chief ecclesiastic, organised a system in virtue of which all the offices of religion were performed by the secular priesthood under his own supervision and government.

When he visited France in 1662, he secured authority to found, at Quebec, an institution called the *Seminary*, destined for the preparation of young men for holy orders,

* Was not formally installed as Bishop of Quebec until 1674.

and to furnish a supply of curés or priests to the parishes. For the maintenance of the seminary, as well as for the support of the priests, the inhabitants were taxed. The amount of the tax, which was imposed under the name of *tithes*, was at first *one thirteenth* of all revenue derived from labour and from the natural products of the soil, forest, and waters. There was subsequently a reduction in the amount to *one twenty-sixth.*

It will be seen that grave dissensions sprung up on the subject of the tithes.

98. Another matter necessary to be mentioned here was the commerce in intoxicating liquors, or, as it has been styled, the *liquor traffic.* This was, perhaps, the most fruitful of all sources of dissension between the civil and ecclesiastical authorities of the province. Champlain himself had witnessed some of the evil consequences which the introduction of brandy and other ardent spirits amongst the savages was calculated to produce; and, with his characteristic benevolence, and deep sense of virtue and religion, adopted measures of prevention. But, in course of time, especially during the occupation of Quebec by the English under Kirkt, the Indians became familiar with the use of "eau-de-vie." In the times of D'Argenson and D'Avaugour, the evil attained to a great height, so that excessive drunkenness was permanently added to the other intemperate habits of the savages throughout Canada and New England. Laws were made prohibiting the sale of liquors, which those Governors found it difficult to enforce. Laval and his clergy exerted themselves strenuously in favour of the laws, both as respected the French colonists and the Indians, but were not always cordially supported by the civil authorities. Dissensions on the subject grew up, and D'Argenson's principal motive for retiring from the governorship was, doubtless, founded on this cause. D'Avau-

gour, as we have seen, came to an open rupture with Laval respecting the liquor traffic.* For nearly one hundred years afterwards, the succeeding bishops and clergy were seldom in accord with the state authorities on account of this vexed question.†

* The immediate pretext of D'Avaugour for ceasing to enforce the laws was the apparent inconsistency of the Jesuit priests, towards whom, it appears, he entertained a dislike. A person had incurred the penalties attached by law to the act of selling liquor to the savages, and had recourse, to their intercession with the Governor. D'Avaugour replied sarcastically, and then added, that he would in future cause no offender to suffer on that account. It should be observed that, a short time before, the Governor had caused three persons to be shot for a similar offence.

† Judging by the accounts of the French writers, the savages who had been partially converted to Christianity became utterly unmanageable and lost through the facility with which "eau-de-vie" was procurable by them from the traders. Under its influence every bad trait of their disposition became enhanced in a tenfold degree, so that, when intoxicated, they committed flagrant outrages. *Lalemant* (quoted in the "History of the Ursulines of Quebec," vol. i. p. 243) depicts in strong language its effects upon the Indians:—"They have brought themselves to nakedness, and their families to beggary. They have even gone so far as to sell their children to procure the means of satisfying this raging passion. I cannot describe the evils caused by these disorders to the infant church. My ink is not black enough to paint them in proper colours. It would require the gall of the dragon to express the bitterness we have experienced from them. It may suffice to say that we lose in one month the fruits of the toil and labours of thirty years." The traders turned to account the native fondness for liquor in their bargains for skins, obtaining these at far less than their real value. Thus there was the double injury done of defrauding them, and at the same time ruining them morally. In course of time, the use of eau-de-vie, or, as the Indians called it, "fire-water," became known amongst all the Indian tribes who, directly or indirectly, had any intercourse with Europeans, whether French, Dutch, or English, and liquor became an indispensable article of commerce with them. The demoralising results may be imagined when it is stated that the poor natives manifested an appetite for drink far exceeding that of the most depraved classes of civilised people.

CHAPTER XIII.

LOUIS XIV. DECIDES UPON CONSTITUTING CANADA A "ROYAL GOVERNMENT"—COMPOSITION OF THE SUPREME COUNCIL—ITS POWERS AND DEFECTS—LIST OF GOVERNORS, BISHOPS, AND ROYAL INTENDANTS FROM 1663 TO 1760.

99. THE attention of the King of France having been gained by the representations which reached him relative to the decay of the Company of One Hundred Associates and the deplorable condition of New France, measures were at length taken for placing the affairs of the colony on another footing.* It was, in fact, determined to constitute Canada a "royal government," under the control of a "*Supreme Council*," like the Parliament of Paris, the principal functionaries of which should be appointed by the King, and be immediately responsible to him. There had already existed a species of council for advising with the Governor, consisting of the chief officials and such of the principal inhabitants as he might choose to summon; but, up to the year 1663, the Governor himself, although, in his military capacity a king's officer, was virtually the head agent of the Company for administering their affairs in the colony, and appointed by the King on their request or nomination. Now, however, the King was implored to resume to himself

* The representations here referred to were those of D'Avaugour, Laval, the inhabitants through M. Boucher, and generally such as had for several years past been made through the King's Minister, M. Colbert. According to some accounts, a special commissioner, named *Dumonts*, was despatched to New France to report on the condition of affairs before decisive measures of amelioration were adopted. The King is said to have been much moved by the accounts brought to him.

all control, and it was decided to relieve the colony altogether from that of the Company.*

100. On the 15th of September 1663, the principal functionaries who were to govern Canada under the new regime landed at Quebec.† The new scheme of government included the following provisions:—

(1.) A sovereign (supreme) Council, consisting, in the first place, of the Governor, Bishop, and Royal Intendant, with five ‡ councillors, attorney-general, and chief clerk.

(2.) The *Governor*, representing the King, to have absolute control of the military force; to have special charge of the external relations of the colony, and to be the recognised organ of communication with the parent state.

The *Bishop*, as head of the Church, to govern in all matters spiritual and ecclesiastical.

The *Royal Intendant*, to be charged with the regulation and conduct of affairs appertaining to finance, police, and justice.

The *five councillors*, to be chosen annually, or to be continued in office as might seem best to the Governor and Bishop, to see that the ordinances of the Supreme Council were duly executed, and to act as judges in petty causes.

(3.) The Supreme Council, in its collective capacity, to have control over all affairs and persons in the colony, and especially to be the highest law tribunal and a court of appeal; but the execution of its decisions and measures to rest with the functionaries to whose departments they

* The number of Associates had decreased to forty-five.

† The date of the edict replacing the government of the *Company of One Hundred Associates* by that which is described in the text, was March 21, 1663. The principal functionaries, who came out from France in September of that year, were the new Governor, *M. de Mesy*, the chief ecclesiastic, *M. Laval*, vicar-apostolic and subsequently bishop, also a royal commissioner, *M. Gaudias*. They were accompanied by a number of military and law officers, some soldiers, and several hundred new settlers, bringing animals and implements of husbandry.

‡ This number was afterwards increased to *seven*, then to *twelve*.

might refer. The Supreme Council had the disposal of the revenues of the colony.

101. It is remarkable that while the Council was invested with sovereign authority in many respects, yet, in regard to the important matter of taxation, it had no power to levy imposts except by the express permission of the King, who reserved this privilege in his own hands. Nor did the new arrangements comprise any provisions enabling the people to exercise a direct influence over the proceedings of the Council or of its three chief officials.*

In all its enactments relative to the administration of justice the Council was bound to keep in view the laws, customs, and procedure established in the kingdom of France, and, as heretofore, no persons professing opinions hostile to the established religion of the kingdom were to be tolerated in the colony.

102. The Supreme Council, constituted as has been described, was virtually a triumvirate of the chief functionaries—for all real power was lodged in the hands of the Governor, Bishop, and Intendant. It will be seen that these three officials figured conspicuously in the annals of Canada during a century up to the period when it ceased to be a French colony. M. de Mesy and M. Laval, when the council was first established, filled two of those high offices, but the first Royal Intendant never made his appearance at

* The celebrated M. Colbert, who at that time exercised the greatest influence in France, appears to have contemplated embracing in the new scheme of colonial government some slight show of what would now be called *municipal freedom*. The people were to elect officers for the conduct of certain local affairs, and to represent them before the supreme council. But this virtually disappeared in a short time, owing to the principles laid down in France for the guidance of colonial authorities conformably to a set of regulations recommended by M. de Tracy and M. Talon. It was stated to be necessary "to provide against undesirable revolutions tending to render the young state of Canada either *aristocratic* or *democratic*, instead of continuing strictly *monarchical*."

Quebec.* It will also be seen that the mutual relations of the Governor, Bishop, and Intendant were not so clearly defined as to prevent misapprehensions and discord. By some it has been represented that the original source of the defects of the Council must be ascribed to the jealous and arbitrary disposition of Louis XIV., who then ruled in France, and who was disinclined to delegate to any of his subjects, at home or abroad, such powers as might at any time, even in appearance, render them independent of himself.†

103. The new order of things was at once initiated with due solemnity. M. Gaudias, who had arrived with the Governor and Bishop in the capacity of royal commissioner, took formal possession of the country in the King's name. The same official administered the oath of allegiance to the inhabitants, and established the procedure of courts of judicature. He returned to France with a report of the condition of the colony prepared during his brief sojourn in Canada.

The Supreme Council, which held its first sitting on the third day after the Governor's arrival, caused the new constitution to be promulgated. Various local appointments were made, measures were taken for establishing inferior courts, and for regulating affairs at Montreal and Three Rivers.

* M. Robert was named Intendant in the decree of March 21, 1663. He was succeeded by M. Jean Talon, who arrived in Quebec, and assumed the duties of his office in 1665. Nearly all we know of M. Robert may be summed up by stating that he was a Councillor of State in France.

† This King, although styled in history "Louis *the Great*," was far from meriting that distinction in regard to his personal qualities. His overwhelming pride and pretensions involved his country in bloody wars during most of his protracted reign; while at home his selfishness, bigotry, and dissolute life constituted an injurious example to his court and subjects. The infinite evils thus occasioned to the people of the great and loyal French nation were not remedied in the reign of his successor, and, eventually, were instrumental in bringing about a state of things in France which is without parallel in the history of any other country.

104. We shall close this chapter with a table exhibiting the successive chief functionaries of the Supreme Council, from the time of its establishment in 1663 until the year 1760, when it ceased to exist:—

TABLE OF THE PRINCIPAL MEMBERS OF THE SUPREME COUNCIL OF CANADA FROM 1663 TO 1760.

	Governors.	*Intendants.*	*Bishops.*
1663–1665	M. de Mesy.	*M. Robert.*	F. de Laval.
1665–1672	M. de Courcelle.	*M. Talon* (*M. Bouterone*).	,,
1672–1682	Count Frontenac.	*M. Duchesnau.*	,,
1682–1685	M. de la Barre.	*M. de Meules.*	,,
1685–1689	M. de Denonville.	*M. Noroy.*	M. St Vallier (from 1688).
1689–1698	Count Frontenac.	*M. Beauharnois* (to 1706).	,,
1698–1703	M. de Calliere.	*MM. Rodots* (to 1712).	,,
1703–1725	M. de Vaudreuil.	*M. Bejon* (to 1726).	,,
1726–1747	M. de Beauharnois.	*M. Chazal* and *M. Dupuy* to 1731).	M. de Mornay (1725-33).
1747–1749	M. de la Galissoniere.	M. Hocquart (1731–1747).	M. Dosquet (to 1739).
1749–1752	M. de la Jonquiere.	M. Bigot (from 1748).	M. F. L. A. Riviere (to 1741). M. de Pontbriand (from 1741).
1752–1755	M. du Quesne.	,,	,,
1755–1760	M. de Vaudreuil.	,,	,,

NOTE.—During the period of time included in the foregoing table, France had only two successive Kings, viz., Louis XIV., whose reign lasted from 1643 to 1715, and Louis XV., who reigned from 1715 to 1774. The throne of England during the same period was occupied by six successive sovereigns, viz., Charles II., James II., William III., Anne, George I., and George II.

CHAPTER XIV.

POPULATION OF CANADA WHEN THE ROYAL GOVERNMENT WAS ESTABLISHED—GENERAL CHARACTER OF THE INHABITANTS—REMARKABLE INCIDENTS OF 1663—CELESTIAL PHENOMENA—EARTHQUAKES—MORAL EFFECTS PRODUCED BY THE EARTHQUAKES.

105. THE machinery of military, civil, and ecclesiastical government, organised as has been described in the foregoing chapter, was devised in the confident anticipation of a large future increase of the resources of the colony. At the time when the new government was introduced, the whole population was, it is believed, less than three thousand of French origin—a number scarcely exceeding that of the inhabitants of an inconsiderable modern town. Some French annalists, indeed, ignoring its previous history, date from this period the first real establishment of the colony. But this is clearly a mistake, and it has been shown in the preceding pages that the substantial foundations had already been laid for the growth of a vigorous and self-reliant nation. Other French writers, with pardonable pride, refer to the French colonists of 1663 as constituting an acclimated body of material, superior, on the whole, to the people of any other European colony, as a foundation for building up a future colonial empire. It becomes, therefore, a matter of some interest to us to inform ourselves, at this stage of Canadian history, upon what grounds such claims have been made in behalf of those early inhabitants of Canada.

The historian *Ferland* says, "The old writers, who knew the early French inhabitants, have taken pleasure in rendering the most honourable testimony in their behalf." Quoting the writer *Le Clerk*, he adds, "I was told that I should be surprised to find so many fine characters in New France; that no province of the kingdom had an equal proportion of persons gifted with penetration, politeness, regard for appearances, courage, intrepidity, and genius for great enterprises; that we should find there even a language more polished, an enunciation more clear and pure, and a pronunciation without bad accent; but, when I came to live there, I saw that I had not been imposed upon, and that New France was, in those respects, more fortunate than new settlements in other parts of the world." Ferland quotes other equally strong testimony to the same effect. Charlevoix says, "One should do New France the justice to state that the origin of nearly all the families was good, . . . for the first inhabitants were either workmen who had been always engaged in useful occupations, or persons of good family, who went out with the sole view of living in tranquillity, and the more surely to preserve their religion; and I have the less fear of contradiction as I have lived with some of these early colonists, all people more respectable on account of their probity, candour, and solid piety, than by their white hairs, and the memory of services long since rendered to the colony." As regards courage and physical qualities, in which these ancient Canadians excelled, intelligible causes are alleged: "A healthy though rigorous climate, frugal modes of life, protracted and dangerous marches in war-time, hard work on the lands; to which, combined, all the feebler constitutions succumbed, leaving, as the real founders of the race, only the robust, the acclimated, and the long-lived." "It is astonishing," says an authority cited in the history of

the Ursulines of Quebec, "to see the number of infants, very fine and well formed. A poor man will have eight or more children, who go about in winter without covering for the feet or head, living upon eels and coarse bread, and upon such fare growing up large and fat."

"The French of Canada," says another writer, "are well formed, active, vigorous, healthy, and capable of great endurance, as well as warlike. Shipowners and captains of vessels will pay one-fourth more to French Canadians than to labourers of Old France. As regards their bravery, even supposing this not innate in them as Frenchmen, the nature of their warfare with the savages, who torment and burn their prisoners, accustoms them of necessity to face any dangers, and to look upon an ordinary death in battle as a boon far preferable to capture alive; this makes them fight with desperation and with supreme indifference to life."

Such, it is contended by credible writers, was the general character of the French Canadian colonists who occupied the country when it became a royal government; and such were some of the chief reasons advanced to account for the like qualities, which, it is claimed, were perpetuated in their posterity.

106. Before we proceed to narrate the leading events which belong to the history of Canada from the time when it became a royal government, A.D. 1663. we must not omit to make mention of some remarkable incidents of the eventful year 1663. During the previous two years, in addition to the troubles arising from internal dissension and the continued hostility of the Iroquois, the country was ravaged by pestilence. A scourge, in the forms of cough and pleurisy, carried off many of the inhabitants, both French and savages, especially infants. By the beginning of 1663 the malady

had abated, but its severity, along with other causes, had created an almost universal feeling of despondency in the minds of the colonists. Even the priests were very much discouraged by the untoward aspect of affairs, and especially by finding their endeavours in behalf of the heathen and the converted savages alike neutralised through the now open extension of the liquor traffic amongst them. There is reason to believe, also, that not only the savages, but also many of the French, in the extremity to which they were then reduced, became indifferent to the admonitions and teaching of their spiritual guides. While in the midst of their various troubles, the attention of all, and the fears of many, were excited to the utmost by a succession of natural occurrences following closely upon each other. Shortly before the close of 1662, a brilliant meteor, like a great globe of fire, appeared high in the air over Quebec, rendering the night as light as day; which was also seen by the inhabitants of Montreal to pass over their habitations, and finally to disappear behind the mountain. On January 7, 1663, and again on the 14th, there occurred the phenomenon of two *mock suns*. Each of these was surmounted by a crown or arch of vaporous matter, brilliantly illuminated, presenting a grand spectacle, which lasted about two hours.*

But a far more alarming series of natural occurrences, shocks of earthquakes, commenced on the evening of February 5, 1663, and continued, at intervals, until the following August. According to the accounts, given in

* See chap. i. "Jesuits' Relations," year 1663. The worthy missionary who records these celestial phenomena, refers in the same chapter to an eclipse of the sun, almost total, which occurred on the 1st September following. He says, "Eleven-twelfths of the disc was obscured, rendering the aspect of our forests pale, sombre, and melancholy. It began in the afternoon at twenty-four minutes forty-two seconds past one, and ended at fifty-two minutes forty-four seconds past three o'clock."

detail in the "Jesuits' Relations," these earthquakes were felt throughout Canada and New England. They are reported to have changed the surface of the whole valley of the St Lawrence below Quebec—altering the beds of the smaller streams, producing hollows and elevations in various places, and throwing down hills in the mass. The inhabitants, both French and Indians, were inspired with the greatest terror, and the fears of the superstitious were further excited by the reports of unusual sights and sounds and prodigies said to have been witnessed by many. The pious narrator (*Lalemant*), after stating that the effects of the earthquakes extended over a surface of twenty thousand square leagues, without any loss of life to man or beast, declares that the greater part of the inhabitants, Indians and French, believers and unbelievers, were essentially benefited with respect to morality and the salvation of their souls. He observes, that "when the Almighty speaks, men must needs listen, especially when He expresses Himself by means of thunderstorms and earthquakes. . . . There was a happy change to modesty and humility and the tears of a perfect penitence. Never were confessions more sincere, nor spirits more truly sensible of God's judgments." In allusion to the previous wicked conduct of many relative to intemperance and the unlawful sale of liquors, many hardened persons were reported to have been converted by what they saw and heard; and, it is added, the protracted continuance of the convulsions during six months served to keep up the moral improvement, and to render it permanent.

According to other accounts, the shocks were severely felt in the city of Quebec, without, however, occasioning any person's death.*

* "The first shock of earthquake took place on February 5, 1663, about half-past five in the evening. The weather was calm and serene,

It should be observed that, at the period of the great earthquakes, the French inhabitants of the colony were all located close to the river St Lawrence, then the only highway—at Montreal, Three Rivers, Quebec, and Tadoussac, or scattered in smaller bodies in settlements along the banks between those principal stations.

when we heard a terrible noise and humming sound like that of a great number of heavy carriages rolling over a paved floor swiftly. After this one heard, both above and below the earth and on all sides, as it were a confused mingling of waves and billows, which caused sensations of horror. Sounds were heard as of stones upon the roofs in the garrets and chambers; a thick dust spread around; doors opened and shut of themselves. The bells of all our churches and clocks sounded of themselves; and the steeples, as well as houses, swayed to and fro, like trees in a great wind. And all this in the midst of a horrible confusion of furniture turned over, stones falling, boards breaking, walls cracking, and the cries of domestic animals, of which some entered the houses and some went out; in a word, it seemed to be the eve of the day of judgment whose signs were witnessed. Very different impressions were made on us. Some went forth for fear of being buried in the ruins of our house, which was seen to jog as if made of card, others prostrated themselves at the foot of the altar, as if to die there. One good lay sister was so terrified that her body trembled for an hour without ability to stop the agitation. When the second shock came, at eight o'clock the same evening, we were all ranged in our stalls at the choir. It was very violent, and we all expected death every moment, and to be engulfed in the ruins of the building. . . . No person was killed. The conversions were extraordinary, and one ecclesiastic assured me that he alone had taken more than eight hundred confessions."—*History of the Ursulines of Quebec.*

CHAPTER XV.

DISSENSIONS IN THE SUPREME COUNCIL—ARBITRARY PROCEEDINGS—COMPLAINTS TO THE KING—DE TRACY, VICEROY—TALON, INTENDANT—DEATH OF DE MESY—THE CARIGNAN REGIMENT—MILITARY PREPARATIONS—FORTS ON THE RICHELIEU—FIRST EXPEDITION AGAINST THE IROQUOIS, UNDER M. DE COURCELLE—SECOND EXPEDITION AGAINST THE IROQUOIS, UNDER M. DE TRACY AND M. DE COURCELLE—CONSEQUENCES OF THE OFFENSIVE OPERATIONS AGAINST THE IROQUOIS—NOTE ON THE IROQUOIS APPENDED TO THIS CHAPTER.

107. THE new Governor, M. de Mesy, on assuming his position in the colony, applied himself vigorously in the discharge of his duties according to his own view of the powers delegated to him. He took for granted that the new constitution, in virtue of which Canada became a royal government, conferred greater powers than heretofore on its chief, without lessening the privileges which had been claimed and enjoyed by former governors under the rule of the Company of One Hundred Associates. He re-appointed Maisonneuve local Governor over the Island of Montreal. At Three Rivers he established M. Boucher as Commandant. With the deputies of the Iroquois, who came to Quebec professing a desire to negotiate for peace, he assumed a confident tone and manner, stating his disbelief in their promises, and his intention to establish a lasting peace by chastising them, and crushing all opposition on their part. In fact, as he had brought out a reinforcement of troops from France, and expected more, he felt able to menace them with

A.D. 1663.

offensive warfare in their own territories. He also made arrangements for enforcing the laws against the liquor traffic.

108. But before long, the existing causes of dissension, and the defective composition of the Supreme Council, which has been already adverted to, combined with the hasty temperament of De Mesy, brought about a collision. The people objected to pay tithes to the extent which Laval had been authorised to exact, and were, in this respect, supported or favoured by the Governor.* Moreover, differences arose on the subject of the election of a *Syndic* or *deacon of habitations* by the inhabitants, in regard to which the Governor and a majority of the Council were opposed to each other. De Mesy then proceeded to dismiss several members of the Council, one of whom, *M. Bourdon*, was a councillor not by appointment, but in virtue of his office as attorney-general. Only two of the councillors sided with De Mesy; but the people, who came to know that a want of harmony subsisted, generally favoured the Governor's views.

De Mesy proposed, according to the constitution, that nominations to replace the dismissed councillors should be made by himself and Bishop Laval jointly. The Bishop, however, refused to concur, and the two functionaries came to an open rupture.† Eventually, the Governor, of his own

* The colonists, during the time of the Hundred Associates, paid nothing either for legal or spiritual services. The new constitution authorised the Bishop to collect *one thirteenth* of the fruits of labour, of whatever sort, for the maintenance of the Seminary of Quebec and the clergy. The Governor, alleging their poverty, supported the refusal of the people to pay this tax, so that the Bishop's plans were practically thwarted.

† The Governor was no match for the cool and dignified person who was the object of his animosity. In proof of this may be cited the Bishop's reply to M. de Mesy's demand for the prelate's concurrence in the changes of councillors:—"The King having done me the honour to advise me, through M. Colbert, that M. de Tracy, Lieutenant-General of His Ma-

authority, made the necessary appointments. Two of the deposed members of the Council were obliged by him to quit the colony, as well as M. Maissonneuve, the respected Governor of Montreal.

M. de Mesy had been recommended to the King's notice as a fit ruler by the Bishop himself, who now saw and felt that he had been deceived. The latter, therefore, through the exiled members of the Council and other agents, caused complaints against De Mesy to be laid before the King. At the same time, in the colony, Laval and his clergy made common cause, and excommunicated all who opposed them. The Governor, also, besides expostulating with the clergy individually, and desiring them to reduce their accusations to a formal shape in writing, proposed to convene a public meeting of the inhabitants in order to settle some of the grounds of dispute. But Laval protested against this course, and prevented such reference to popular opinion. Thus the new constitution of 1663 was found to work badly.

109. The King at once listened to the representations laid before him,* which included some special charges against De Mesy, as being a violent and avaricious man. Orders were issued that the *Marquis de Tracy*, recently

jesty's dominions in America, has orders to come next spring to regulate tha which concerns the government and administration of the civil affairs of this country, I do not feel able to consent to those changes before the arrival of the said M. de Tracy."

* The Bishop's influence at court exceeded that of the Governor, who, being well aware of the fact, readily persuaded himself that to Laval were owing various sources of disappointment which he experienced. In course of the disputes, De Mesy cast aside all considerations of ancient friendship, and even of personal courtesy, towards Laval. On one occasion, it is recorded, he caused placards to be posted up, to the sound of the drum, specifying various charges "against the Bishop and others." On another, he marched with his guards and soldiers of the garrison to the Bishop's quarters, as if to seize his person.

The King was particularly offended by De Mesy's conduct in making appeals to popular opinion.

appointed Viceroy over the colonial possessions of France,* should proceed to Canada and rectify its disturbed condition. A new local Governor, *M. de Courcelle*, was nominated to supersede De Mesy; and *M. Talon*, as Royal Intendant, was directed to unite with De Tracy and Courcelle to form a tribunal for bringing De Mesy to trial; and, if they should convict him, to send him to France under arrest.

In the meantime, before the arrival of those who were to be his judges, M. de Mesy died at Quebec on May 5, 1665.

110. De Tracy sailed from Rochelle in February 1664, and, according to the King's instructions, proceeded first to the *Antilles*, or West Indies, where he spent some time in regulating the affairs of the French colonies in those parts. On his passage thence to the Gulf and River St Lawrence, and in making good his ascent to Quebec, causes of delay occurred, so that he did not reach his destination until the 30th of June 1665. About a fortnight earlier, four companies of regular soldiers had arrived direct from France, who, with those which had

A.D. 1664.

* Soon after the establishment of the royal government in Canada, another commercial company was organised, styled the "West Indian Company," with jurisdiction over all the colonies of France, including Canada. It was at the instance of this new company that M. de Tracy was named Viceroy.

† Before his decease, De Mesy prepared a brief record of his course, in which he endeavoured to exculpate himself in the opinion of De Tracy, to whom the document was addressed, by stating that all his proceedings had been guided by a desire to uphold the interests of the King and of the colony.

It may be added here, that when he found his end approaching, De Mesy sought a reconciliation with Laval, causing himself to be carried on a litter to the Bishop's residence, and humbly praying for absolution. The prelate not only forgave him, and complied with his wishes for spiritual aid, but also attended his funeral at the head of his clergy in their robes, and with every demonstration of respect.

accompanied the Viceroy, were a portion of a famous French troop, known as the *Carignan* Regiment,* commanded by Colonel de Salieres. Subsequent arrivals in the months of July, August, and September afforded great relief to the minds of the inhabitants, who now beheld amongst them the means of protection from their implacable enemies, the Iroquois, and of chastising these by carrying war into their own cantons. M. de Courcelle and M. Talon arrived about the middle of September.

The late Governor, De Mesy, being dead, it was judged unadvisable to pursue any measures of inquiry in relation to his conduct; but the displaced councillors were restored to their former positions, and suitable steps taken in regard to the liquor traffic, tithes, and other occasions of discord.†

111. De Tracy then turned his attention to that important part of his instructions which related to the Iroquois, whom he was charged to conquer and to exterminate.‡ It was too late that season to enter upon offensive operations against them, since the bulk of the troops could not have been dispatched from Quebec before the month of October. No time, however, was lost in making the necessary preparations for an expedition on a considerable scale as early as possible in the following year. Of the soldiers who

* The Carignan Regiment had distinguished itself in European warfare. Its officers were, for the most part, men belonging to noble French families, and the men noted for their bravery and piety. They formed, in all, a body of about thirteen hundred good soldiers when all the companies destined for Canada had landed.

† The subject of *tithes*, about which the late Governor and the clergy had differed, was arranged on a footing more acceptable to the colonists, the rate being soon reduced from *one thirteenth* to one twenty-sixth.

‡ These barbarians had continued their incursions during the greater part of the years 1663 and 1664. Not only the Indians of Canada, and those who came in from remote regions to sell their peltry at the French stations, but the French themselves were subjected to incessant attacks. Frequently the French were assaulted close to their dwellings and in their fields, and occasionally some were carried off into captivity.

arrived earliest, four companies were ordered forward to occupy the most advantageous positions, and thus secure a free passage into the Iroquois territory. These troops, with volunteers from the country, left Quebec for Three Rivers on July 23, and were joyfully received at that post which, up to the very time of their arrival, had continued to suffer from the customary depredations and attacks of the Iroquois.

After a short detention at Three Rivers, they crossed Lake St Peter, and commenced the occupation of positions on the river Richelieu—then styled the *Iroquois River*. Other bodies of soldiers and volunteers were sent on during the remainder of the summer season.

112. The principal object of the movement referred to in the last article was to construct several forts on the route towards the Iroquois country, in order to serve as magazines and places of retreat for sick and wounded soldiers.

One fort was built near the mouth of the Richelieu, and was named *St Louis*. This was accomplished under the direction of *M. Sorel*, in command of five companies of the Carignan Regiment.

A second, originally named *Fort Richelieu*, was built by *M. de Chambly*, at the foot of the Richelieu rapids.

Colonel de Salieres himself directed the construction of a third fort, called *St Therese*, at a point about three leagues higher up the river.

Between this last position and Lake Champlain there were no rapids or other impediments to the passage of boats laden with troops or military stores. These several works were pushed forward with such vigour, that even St Therese, which was commenced latest, was completed before the close of October 1665. They may be described generally as consisting of inclosures within double wooden palisades, from twelve to fifteen feet high, erected upon low banks of earth, strengthened at the angles and on one or more

sides by *bastions*, or projecting bulwarks, for the purpose of commanding the outer walls of the fortress. Inside were sheds and wooden buildings for the magazines and the accommodation of garrisons.

In addition to the foregoing forts, another small one, called *St Anne*, was built in the ensuing year on an island in Lake Champlain.

Such were the earliest measures taken by De Tracy for providing against future incursions of the Iroquois, and at the same time for securing to the colonists free ingress into the territory of their enemies whenever it should be judged necessary to attack them in their own quarters.*

113. The first offensive military expedition against the Iroquois was organised during the winter of 1665-66. In October preceding, the Onondagas had sent an embassy to Quebec, under Garaconthié, to solicit peace and amity with the French, and to procure the restoration of three prisoners belonging to their tribe. De Tracy received Garaconthié very affably, and, after listening to his address, instantly complied with his request, and promised for his nation both peace and the protection of the King. He also held out a prospect of the same favours for the other Iroquois nations, if they would restrain themselves from hostile acts, and conduct them- A.D. 1666.

* Some of the forts mentioned in the text were afterwards known by the names of the officers under whose supervision they were built, as *Sorel*, *Chambly*.

In addition to the considerable military force brought to Canada in the year 1665, there were many new *emigrants*, including about two hundred young women sent out as wives for the colonists. The effective strength of the colony, in people and various supplies, was almost doubled.

About the time of De Tracy's arrival, *horses*, shipped at the port of *Havre* in France, were landed at Quebec. The Indians were inspired with admiration by the beauty, strength, and docility of these animals. The only horse hitherto seen in the country was one brought out by Governor Montmagny, about a quarter of a century before.

selves so as not to require a resort to force of arms on the part of the French.

It was not, however, judged expedient to wait for practical proofs of the impression which the foregoing intimation might make upon the other tribes. By the 9th of January 1666, preparations being completed, M. Courcelle set out with three hundred regulars, and two hundred volunteers from among the French colonists,—every man, including the commander himself and all the officers, on snow-shoes, and carrying from twenty-five to thirty pounds of bread and other necessaries. The little army reached Three Rivers on the 24th, and proceeded thence in the direction of Forts St Louis, Richelieu, and St Therese; at which last station, appointed as the place of final rendezvous, they arrived on the last day of the month. A considerable number of the men became disabled on the march, owing to frozen limbs, and injuries from the rough surface of broken ice over which their route lay. To repair the losses, fresh men were supplied from the forts, and the march was continued with great difficulty up to February 14, when they came within twenty leagues of the nearest Iroquois settlements. Here the prodigious depth of the snow, and other unforeseen obstacles, rendered further progress almost impracticable. Their Algonquin guides lagged behind, leaving the French to proceed as they best could through the difficult and unknown paths of frozen swamps and forests. They contrived, however, after a protracted march, to reach some Iroquois habitations. M. Courcelle immediately fell upon these, and killed, captured, or put to flight all their occupants. Proceeding onwards, some time was spent in prosecuting the objects of the invasion, but the Iroquois villages * at that time happened to contain

* These were the villages of the *Mohawks*, or, as the French styled them, the *Agniers*.

chiefly women, children, and aged persons, as the great majority of warriors had departed on some expedition westward. Courcelle, however, soon found that the hardships of a winter campaign were too great to admit of his making a long stay; besides which, provisions began to run short. He, therefore, caused it to be intimated to the Iroquois tribes, by means of prisoners, that, in the course of next season, a much more severe chastisement awaited them, and then retired towards the French posts on the Richelieu. On their retreat the force was followed at a distance by the Iroquois, who dispatched all who were compelled by hunger or fatigue to loiter in the rear.

The novelty and audacity of this incursion into their territory, in the winter season, produced a strong impression upon the minds of their savage enemies. These saw that, under more favourable circumstances, the French might penetrate into the very centre of their cantons; but the expedition was not accomplished without much bodily suffering and some loss of life to the invaders, who did not reach the nearest French posts on their retreat before the 8th of March. Many of their number had been frost-bitten, and at one time the dearth of provisions was such that the safety of all was threatened by famine.* Such, however, were the early beneficial effects of the enterprise, that, in the month of May, deputies of the Senecas presented themselves at Quebec, and solicited the protection of the King of France; and, soon afterwards, the Oneidas,

* The commander, Courcelle, was far from satisfied with the results of the campaign. He attributed the smallness of his success to the Indian guides, who, it appears, had by some means obtained the opportunity of intoxicating themselves just before they reached the Mohawk villages, and at once deserted. Subsequently, however, when the French were suffering from want of food, their Indian auxiliaries rejoined them, and rendered good service in procuring the much-needed supplies of provisions.

and even the Mohawks, sent representatives to negotiate a durable peace.

114. M. de Tracy appears to have placed some slight confidence in their professions, for he consented to accept the customary presents, and to send some French emissaries to the cantons with the Oneida deputies, to ascertain by personal inquiries amongst the tribes themselves if there existed really good grounds for believing that they would faithfully observe the conditions. The Oneida deputies left behind hostages for their own nation and also for that of the Mohawks.

115. A few days after the departure of the Iroquois deputies, word was brought to Quebec that a band of Mohawks had surprised a number of French officers and men belonging to Fort St Anne, of whom some were killed and the survivors made prisoners. De Tracy immediately recalled the French emissaries, and dispatched M. Sorel with three hundred men to recover the captives, retaining in prison the hostages left by the Oneidas.

Although the force under M. Sorel was met, before they had passed beyond Fort St Anne, by another body of deputies bringing back the captives, with apologies for the outrage which had been perpetrated, and with assurances that the cantons had unanimously authorised them to conclude a durable peace, yet De Tracy deemed it expedient to resume hostilities for the purpose of effectually humbling the Mohawks. Preparations for a second invasion of the cantons were pushed forward, and the veteran, who had reluctantly abstained from accompanying the first expedition on account of his advanced years, the rigorous season, and the representations of his subordinate officers, resolved to take the command in person.

116. The second expedition against the Iroquois cantons was conducted on a much larger scale than the one com-

manded by Courcelle. With the aid of the Intendant, M. Talon, everything that could be foreseen as requisite to insure success was carefully provided. Six hundred regulars, selected from the several companies of the Carignan Regiment, as many French Canadians, and upwards of one hundred Hurons and Algonquins were equipped, and ready to march early in September. It was the most formidable host which had ever yet assembled in arms in New France. The Viceroy had under him Governor Courcelle, at the head of four hundred men forming the vanguard, and directed to precede the other divisions by four days; also, Colonel de Salieres, Captains Chambly and Berthier, and other officers. The route lay along the line of forts on the Richelieu, into lakes Champlain and St Sacrament (St. George), and thence through forests and marshes, and across rivers, into the nearest Iroquois settlements—the *bourgades* of the Mohawks.*

Upwards of three hundred light *batteaus* and canoes made of bark had been prepared beforehand at the proper points, for the purpose of transporting the force across the lakes and larger streams. Two small field-pieces were provided to enable the troops the more readily to demolish the defences of the Iroquois. Fort St Anne, on Lake Champlain, was designated as the point of general rendezvous. Preparations being completed by the 14th, M. de Courcelle moved forward with the four hundred men forming the advance. The Viceroy deferred his departure from Quebec with the main body until October 3, in order to afford time for all to reach St Anne by the appointed day, the 28th. The inhabitants of Quebec, and, in fact, those at all the stations in the occupied parts of Canada, were left by

* An account of the position and strength of the *Five Nations*, together with other particulars relative to these remarkable people, have been reserved for this part of the history—see note at the end of this chapter.

the troops forming the expedition in a state of hopeful anxiety, in the belief that the time had arrived for the decisive punishment of their adversaries on account of injuries inflicted during the past forty years. The members of the religious orders, priests and people generally, devoted themselves to prayers and solemn acts of penitence, in the hope of thus propitiating the Divine favour in behalf of the great enterprise.

117. The difficulties of the march proved very great, increased as they were by the carriage of provisions, arms, and baggage, and frequently of the canoes, on the backs of the soldiers and officers, each of whom had his burden regulated beforehand. Much additional and fatiguing labour was occasioned by the transport of the two pieces of artillery.

Some time after leaving the place of rendezvous, the invaders were seen by the outlying bands of Iroquois. These had been stationed to watch for the French, and to furnish tidings to their people in the bourgades. The Mohawks of the nearest settlement, however, on being apprised of the approach of the French, suddenly adopted the resolution of abandoning their defences and habitations, with all their contents, to the mercy of the invaders. Retiring through the recesses of the forest to the higher lands, they merely showed themselves in the distance, and contented themselves with uttering loud cries, accompanied by useless discharges of fire-arms.

The French had already begun to suffer from shortness of provisions*—having found the march much more protracted than had been anticipated. It had been their

* A few days before the first settlements of the Iroquois were reached, the scarcity of food made the expedition so far doubtful that its success was menaced by famine, when, unexpectedly, they came upon a grove of *chestnut*-trees, loaded with ripe fruit, of which the whole army partook abundantly. Subsequently, on entering the deserted habitations, the fears on the score of provisions were entirely relieved.

design to make their first attack a surprise; and, with that view, the march was continued in the night-time, until the Indian auxiliaries, in scouring the forest on the flanks and in front, came upon straggling bands of the vigilant adversary, after which concealment was impossible.

De Tracy, in spite of his advanced age, maintained his position always in advance, causing himself to be carried in a chair. Where streams were to be crossed, he was borne in the arms of strong soldiers and Hurons.* On reaching the nearest Iroquois habitations, the French lost no time in refreshing themselves with food, and in prosecuting their march into the bourgades. As they came upon the four villages in succession, they were surprised to find no resistance whatever. The savages, as already intimated, had evidently changed their plans on a sudden when they saw the French regulars defile out of the forest, and when they heard the drums and bugles sounding an assault. In the third bourgade, the invaders rested a while, sending forward scouts to reconnoitre the fourth and last. Here, it was assumed, the Mohawks would surely stand and fight; but, intimidated by the number of the invaders, and especially by the hitherto unheard sound of their drums, they continued their retreat into the recesses of the forest. The women and children fled with the warriors, and only one aged man was found concealed under an inverted canoe.

On first learning the intention of the French to invade their territory, the Mohawks had fortified this position with a triple palisade, storing within it supplies of provisions, and of water, collected in bark cisterns, in order to guard

* On one occasion his life was endangered, owing to the inability of a soldier, who was carrying him, to withstand the force of the current. Fortunately their descent was arrested by a *rock*, upon which M. de Tracy was placed in security, until a powerful and courageous Huron waded through the torrent and rescued both.

against the possible destruction of their defences by fire. The French found here an enormous quantity of maize, sufficient, with the other provisions, to sustain their entire colony two years, if only it were practicable to transport it to the banks of the Richelieu. The cabins, which were upwards of one hundred feet in length, and capable of accommodating eight or ten families each, were furnished with utensils and conveniences such as the French were surprised to see. Some of the habitations were constructed with timbers well put together, and finished inside with boards and joiner-work.

A council of war was held to determine upon the measures it might be now expedient to adopt. The enemy had withdrawn beyond their immediate reach, and it was necessary to decide whether to pursue them or to punish them by the destruction of their habitations and means of living. The lateness of the season, and the considerable interval between the Mohawk canton and that of the Oneidas, upon which the Mohawks would probably retire, and there be in a position to offer a serious resistance, admonished De Tracy that it was more prudent to follow the latter course, and then retreat into Canada. Accordingly it was decided to set fire to all the habitations, stores of provisions, and other property in the Mohawk villages. A vast conflagration was made to consume the palisades, cabins, maize, fish, dried flesh, beans, and fruits. All the villages were burnt in like manner, and all the surrounding fields devastated. Those who knew the disposition and customs of these people judged that famine and want of shelter, consequent upon their losses, would soon excite quarrels and bloody conflicts amongst them, and that thus they would suffer the most severe chastisement for the ravages which they had inflicted upon the French territory during past years, and for the massacres and atrocious cruelties

perpetrated, without cessation, upon the colonists. Thus, De Tracy and his officers, although they had failed to bring about a pitched battle between their own disciplined troops and the Iroquois warriors—the result of which could scarcely have been doubtful—had recourse to the only remaining means of punishment. Its effects, as will be seen, endured for about a generation, and inspired their ruthless adversaries with a salutary dread of the French arms.

On the retreat great difficulties were encountered, owing to the lateness of the season, the rains, and the swollen state of the rivers; but, ultimately, De Tracy arrived at Quebec in the first week of November,* with the greater part of his force. The only loss of life suffered by the French in the expedition occurred on the march homewards.†

118. The effects of De Tracy's expedition upon the Iroquois became soon apparent. From famine alone more than four hundred perished. Several emissaries made their appearance at Quebec, soliciting peace, bringing hostages, and restoring a number of French prisoners, some of whom had been held in captivity so long as to have lost their mother-tongue. They requested, also, that missionaries might be sent amongst them, and manifested other symptoms of a sincere desire to observe terms of amity in future. In addition to these favourable results, the English colonists on the Hudson, who had by this time displaced the Dutch, opened communications of a friendly nature with De Tracy, notwithstanding his operations against the Iroquois. Moreover, to strengthen and per-

* In this and other incidental references to dates, the *old style* of reckoning is implied. According to modern reckoning, the date of De Tracy's return must be understood to be about the 15th of November.

† On one occasion, while the force was crossing Lake Champlain, a tempest caused the death of eight persons, including one or more officers.

petuate the motives by which the Iroquois were now animated in the interest of peace, De Tracy, while accepting their overtures, caused it to be intimated to them that, in case their engagements should not be faithfully observed, the French forces would again move upon their settlements.

NOTE.—To enable the reader of Canadian history to follow intelligently the course of events in relation to the savages, it is necessary to furnish some definite particulars of the Iroquois confederacy, or *Five Nations*, by whom, collectively or individually, the French colonists were so grievously persecuted during a long period. The account here given refers generally to the time when Canada became a royal government under De Mesy, De Tracy, and M. Courcelle; and it is inserted in this place in order not to interrupt the narrative in the text. Some other necessary particulars have been already stated in the introduction to this history, to which also the reader is referred.

Of the Iroquois, or *Five Nations*, whose cantons, separated by intervals, extended westward of the river Hudson and south of Lake Ontario to a distance of about one hundred and fifty leagues, in the region now forming the north-eastern portion of the State of New York, the *Mohawks* (*Agniers*), occupied two or three villages in the territory farthest east, and therefore nearest to the line of march followed by Tracy and Courcelle. These numbered from three hundred to four hundred warriors. Next to the Mohawks, and distant from them about forty-five leagues, were the *Oneidas*, described as having only about one hundred and forty warriors, a tribe always ready to negotiate about peace with the French, but, at the same time, always raising objections, dissembling, and prosecuting actual warfare. Fifteen leagues farther west lay the *Onondagas*, with upwards of three hundred men able to bear arms, who had received the French formerly as friends, while they treated them as enemies. Twenty or thirty leagues more distant were the *Cayugas* (*Oïogouens*), with whom friendly relations had subsisted, and who had shown themselves amenable to the pious efforts of missionaries; they had also about three hundred warriors. Towards the extreme west and south of Lake Ontario were situated the *Senecas* (*Sonnontŏnans*), the most numerous of the Five Nations, and reckoning no less than twelve hundred warriors. Both the Cayugas and the Senecas had hitherto observed a species of neutrality, never making war openly upon the French.

The region occupied by the Five Nations was fertile, and well watered by lakes and streams teeming with fish. The woody portions included

extensive groves of oak, chesnut, and walnut trees. The climate was mild, and such that most of the fruits of France flourished and came to maturity in the open air: the winters of moderate length, attended with but little snow compared with Quebec, where it covered the ground five months, and to the depth of four and five feet every season.

These savage people carried on warfare against other tribes and against the French with extraordinary ferocity, cunning, and valour. They usually treated the vanquished and their prisoners with appalling cruelty, employing every device which a fiendish ingenuity could suggest to protract the torments of their victims, and to extort from them the cries and groans expressive of human suffering. This is proved by many well authenticated cases, both in regard to Huron and Algonquin captives, and when French colonists and missionaries fell into their hands. The Jesuits' Relation for 1665 gives in minute detail the horrible treatment of several Frenchmen by Iroquois warriors in the year 1661. "On the 25th of October 1661, fourteen Frenchmen, headed by *Monsieur Brigeart*, were suddenly attacked by a considerable body of Iroquois in the vicinity of the Island of Montreal, and fled in disorder after a slight resistance. Brigeart, however, and two others made a stand, and killed the chief of the savages. But the Iroquois soon captured him and his two companions, carrying them off to their encampment in the neighbourhood, near the margin of the river. Brigeart had his arm broken and was wounded in several places, so that he was unable to keep up with his captors. They, however, dragged him along in the shallow water without mercy, his head and face downwards, almost round the island. One of the slain Frenchmen was M. Vignal, a priest, whose body they stript and carried away along with their three living captives. Arriving at their camp, M. Brigeart and his two companions, who were unhurt, were secured to trees for the night, while the Indians proceeded, after their fashion, to scalp the defunct priest, and devour his flesh before the eyes of his compatriots. In the morning the barbarians separated and set out on their way homewards, those of them who were Mohawks taking one of the prisoners, named Dufresne, while M. Brigeart and the remaining captive, René, fell to the lot of the Oneidas, who happened to be the majority. René, stript of his clothing, was compelled to carry a load of baggage like a beast of burden, and Brigeart, rendered slow by his wounds, was urged along at the utmost possible speed. After eight days the two bands re-united, and two of their number were sent forward to carry intelligence to the Iroquois villages. On their arrival at the settlements of the Oneidas, Brigeart and René were first painted like savages, and compelled to run the gauntlet between two rows of Indians, armed with cudgels, with which they beat the unhappy Frenchmen. After this, a powerful Iroquois leaped upon René, inflicted a number of heavy blows, and then tore off the nails of his fingers. At night they brought an Algonquin prisoner to join them, and obliged all three, by the application of fresh torments, to go through the ceremony of singing their national

songs. According to one of their customs, they insisted on their narrating their sufferings and torturing each other with pieces of ignited charcoal, which the Frenchmen steadily refused to do. A council was then held of the old men to decide upon the final disposal of the prisoners, when it was ordered that the two Frenchmen should be burnt. But the sister of the chief who had been killed by M. Brigeart intervened, demanding that René should be given up to take the place of her deceased brother, which, after some hesitation, was accorded. M. Brigeart, however, was delivered over for execution. During a whole night the savage fiends tortured him by applying fire to various parts of his body. Tired of this, they next cut off his fingers, nose, cheeks, and eyebrows, when, happily, a desperate savage administered a fatal blow on the sufferer's head with a tomahawk, cut open his chest, tore out his heart, and devoured it. Throughout this bloody execution the poor Frenchman prayed without ceasing for his tormentors. René and the captive Algonquin were spectators without ability to succour their fellow-prisoner. Iroquois women, and even children, were active and excited participators in the cruel process. In the meantime, Du Fresne, amongst the Mohawks, was suffered to live in captivity. During nine months ensuing he was forced to accompany his captors on short hunting expeditions, and employed in menial services similar to those which were exacted from René. The latter finally escaped in company with two other Frenchmen, who had been made prisoners some time previously, and the three, after undergoing infinite suffering and fatigue, made their way to the French settlements, bringing accounts of what had passed."

From the foregoing particulars, not unlike in kind and degree to those which had attended the death of Brebœuf, Daniel, and others, twelve years earlier, when the Iroquois ruined and dispersed the Huron tribes amongst whom they served as missionaries, we may infer with what sentiments the French host under De Tracy and Courcelle were now marching to inflict chastisement upon the Iroquois in their own territory.

CHAPTER XVI.

INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF THE COLONY—COMMERCE—THE WEST INDIAN COMPANY — AGRICULTURE — INTRODUCTION OF THE FEUDAL SYSTEM—DEPARTURE OF DE TRACY—NOTE ON THE ENGLISH COLONIES.

119. THE successful issue of the war with the Iroquois left De Tracy at liberty to attend to other important objects of his mission. These related to the re-organisation of the Supreme Council, and to the regulation of all affairs affecting the internal government of the colony, agriculture, and commerce. Most of the original members of the Council had been already replaced, and, on its new footing, that body proceeded to re-enact former prohibitions respecting the liquor traffic. To sell intoxicating drinks to the Indians was made a penal offence. A.D. 1667.

120. The commerce of the country, notwithstanding the recent change made in taking it out of the hands of the "Company of One Hundred Associates," had been, after the lapse of about one year, confided to a new company styled the "West Indian Company." This was chartered with nearly the same privileges as the former company, but with a jurisdiction more extensive, and including, as well as Canada, all the other transatlantic regions over which France claimed sovereignty. They were to import various supplies required in the colony, and to promote its further settlement, receiving, as compensation, the right to carry on the fur trade with the natives. Their representative in the colony was to have a seat in the Council, and prece-

dence next after the Royal Intendant. They were even to enjoy the privilege of nominating councillors and judges, as well as the governors and intendants of the colony. But it appears that this last privilege reverted to the King, who was petitioned by the Company to reserve it until they themselves should be in a condition to exercise the right of nomination. The inhabitants, however, were not to be excluded, as formerly, from trading with the Indians and amongst themselves, except at the Tadoussac station. But they were to pay a duty of *one-fourth* its value upon the purchase or capture of every beaver, and *one-tenth* upon some other animals, for the Company's benefit. Ten directors in Paris regulated the general affairs of the Company.* The West Indian Company continued in existence only up to the year 1674, when its charter was revoked, on the ground that it had not force enough to secure and retain for the King's American subjects the advantages to which their courage and industry entitled them.

121. In conjunction with the Intendant, M. Talon, De Tracy encouraged agriculture, mining explorations, and external commerce. In consequence, the colonists cultivated hemp and flax, and began to manufacture coarse cloths and other domestic articles. All the common grains were soon produced in an abundance exceeding the wants of the colony. An export trade was begun with the West Indies in dried fish, salted salmon, eels, and oils extracted from the sea-wolf, the porpoise, and the seal. Oak planks and boards, and samples of different woods, were sent even to France, in proof that the country could furnish products serviceable in the royal dockyards. At a later date, resinous extracts and pitch were included among the exports.

122. In the meantime, while the colonists tilled their

* In the edict creating this Company, the King reserved "no other rights and dues than allegiance and homage to himself and successors."

lands in their new state of freedom from the predatory inroads of the Iroquois, the population steadily increased. Wives for the male inhabitants were brought over from France, and many of the officers and soldiers of the Carignan Regiment married and settled on the lands. Altogether, the colony entered upon a condition of prosperity it had never known before. Canada now was no longer the country of "horrors and cold,"* such as it had been called in former years. The number of inhabitants soon became the double of what it had been a few years before; and they could now without apprehension extend themselves over the country, instead of being hindered by fears of the Iroquois from cultivating the soil even within reach of the cannon of the forts.

123. In regard to the tenure of lands and the administration of the law, the customs of the mother country† were permanently introduced. The military officers and other persons of good family received grants of land as *seigniewrics*, upon which, under the denomination of *censitaires*, the soldiers and others were encouraged to settle. This was part of the feudal system, the only mode of occupying the land and of social existence known to the French.

Registers of births and marriages had begun to be kept as early as the year 1621, and still continued in Quebec. The colony now had assumed another phase of existence in regard to all its affairs; and, although many future reverses were in store for it, had taken root and become established permanently on its foundations.

M. de Tracy having successfully accomplished the objects of his mission, took his departure for France in the autumn of 1667.

* Relation of 1667, p. 2.

† Particularly the system called *Coutume de Paris*.

NOTE ON THE ENGLISH COLONIES.—In the text mention has been made of some communications between M. de Tracy and the English colonists on the Hudson. As Canada grew in population and resources it will be seen that the intercourse with the neighbouring European colonies increased, and that the causes which have been already referred to in this history brought about unfriendly relations. It will be well, therefore, for the learner to become acquainted with the following brief outline of the origin and progress of those other colonies up to the time when De Tracy's mission in Canada came to an end.

As early as 1606, *James River* was discovered by the English; and, next year, the first English colony, that of *Virginia*, founded in the New World. In 1609, *Henry Hudson*, in the Dutch service, navigated the *Hudson River*, which led to the first Dutch settlements in New York, subsequently ceded to the English. In 1614 and following years, settlements began to be formed at various points of the coast of New England. In 1620, the *Puritans* of England established themselves on the coast of *Massachusetts*.

In 1623, the colony of *New Jersey* was begun, but did not attain to much strength until the founding of *Elizabeth Town* in 1664.

Between 1623 and 1670 various other settlements were established, including those in *New Hampshire, Maryland, Connecticut, Rhode Island, Vermont, South Carolina,* and *Pennsylvania.*

These colonies, during a long period called by the English themselves the American "Plantations," for the most part increased much more rapidly than those of France in Canada and Acadia. They were ruled by Governors and Councils deriving their authority from the sovereigns of England, either directly or indirectly, through corporations and leading persons employed to promote their settlement.

At times, when war broke out in Europe between France and England, their respective colonies in America usually took part against each other. They had, besides, local causes of hostility, growing out of jealousy and questions about boundaries and traffic with the Indian tribes. During about a century from the days of De Tracy, the soldiers and sailors of the two mother countries were from time to time dispatched to co-operate with their respective colonies against each other, until, in 1763, the authority of France in North America was superseded by that of England.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE GOVERNOR, DE COURCELLE—CAUSES OF TROUBLE AMONG THE INDIAN TRIBES OF THE WEST—THE GOVERNOR'S EXPEDITION TO THE NORTH SHORE OF LAKE ONTARIO—RECALL OF DE COURCELLE—CHARACTER OF DE COURCELLE—DEATH OF MADAME DE LA PELTRIE AND OF MARIE DE L'INCARNATION—THEIR CHARACTERS—TALON—COLBERT.

124. M. DE COURCELLE, who had been appointed Governor under De Tracy in 1665, continued in office until the year 1672. He was not only an intrepid soldier but a man of remarkable sagacity and considerable aptitude for government. Under him, and the indefatigable Intendant, Talon—whom, however, the Governor did not always support in efforts to further agriculture and commerce—the resources of the colony continued to increase rapidly. Courcelle was also strictly impartial in administering justice, even in cases when his own compatriots suffered severely by his decisions.* The Indian tribes entertained a high sense of his qualities, it being generally known amongst them that he had been a chief agent in the decisive operations against the Iroquois in 1666. It happened since that period, that members belonging to several of the Iroquois nations during the interval of peace frequently hunted amicably in the same A.D. 1667-72.

* On one occasion, a murder had been committed, accompanied with robbery, by three Frenchmen. The Governor promptly had the criminals brought before him, along with the relations and friends of the deceased, and guilt being clearly proved, caused the murderers to be put to death in their presence.

regions with the Ottawas and several other tribes on the borders of the great lakes. From occasional encroachments, however, they soon fell into aggressions upon Indians with whom the French had established friendly relations. On one occasion, the Senecas (Sonnontouans) committed depredations in the hunting-grounds of the *Pouteoutamies*. This caused the tribes of adjacent regions to unite in attacking and driving away all Iroquois hunting parties, including those of the Five Nations who had taken no part with the Senecas. The result was a general ferment among the savages, endangering the safety of many Frenchmen engaged in trade in those remote parts. An appeal was made to the Governor, who decided that the Senecas should make reparation and restore the captives they had taken. But the Senecas, although aware of the chastisement of the Mohawks, contemned the wishes and menaces of the French, and returned only a few of their captives, without offering further reparation. They were emboldened by their own numbers, the distance of their settlements from the French headquarters, and especially by the supposed impossibility of transporting soldiers and munitions of war through the rapids above Montreal. M. de Courcelle saw the necessity of convincing the Senecas that their villages were not beyond the reach of French valour, and instantly took steps to prove this. Under the direction of Intendant Talon, a flat-bottomed vessel was prepared for transporting provisions and ammunition, and also thirteen canoes. In these he embarked with a body of picked soldiers, and, after surmounting the difficulties attendant upon an ascent up the river, made his appearance at a spot named Kenté, on Lake Ontario. Thence it was easy to cross the lake, and to make a descent upon the villages of the Senecas.

A.D. 1670.

De Courcelle, however, contented himself with causing an intimation to reach them to the effect that, unless they refrained from aggressions, he would lead an adequate force against them and deal with them as had been done with the Mohawks a few years before. The astonished Senecas at once complied with all his demands, and thus De Courcelle, by his energy and forethought, maintained the prestige of the French and prevented the outbreak of a general war.

The health of the Governor was injured by fatigue and by the hardships he encountered upon this his last expedition, and he demanded his recall. Accordingly, *M. de Frontenac*, one of the most remarkable men of those times, was appointed Governor by the court of France on the 7th April 1672. On the 12th of September following, De Courcelle, accompanied by the Intendant, Talon, embarked for France.

125. The character of Courcelle has been generally described in the preceding article. He was sincerely esteemed by the colonists, and his departure, which occurred at a critical period, was much deplored.

126. The loss to the colony of two such faithful promoters of its interests as M. de Courcelle and Talon had proved themselves to be, was all the more acutely felt because it followed closely upon the removal of two other persons, who, in another sphere, had been its most constant and most zealous friends. The first of these was *Madame de la Peltrie*, who, more than thirty years before, had come to found the Ursuline Convent at Quebec, and who died in November 1671. The other was *Marie Guyart*, the first Superior of that noted institution, and who, in the religious annals of the colony, is known by the name of "*La Mère Marie de l'Incarnation.*" Madame de la Peltrie had cast behind her all the attractions of a

life of ease, luxury, and refinement at an early age, and had come to Canada to devote her exertions and considerable fortune to the object of providing education and religious training for the young females of the country, French and Indian.* The coadjutor of Madame de la Peltrie, Marie de l'Incarnation, was of humbler origin, but very highly gifted in regard to the qualities needed in carrying on such a work in those times. Her co-religionists, to this day, cherish her memory with profound veneration. She was as remarkable for tact, perseverance, and indomitable courage, as for religious zeal and devotion. Her intellectual abilities were also of a very high order, and were united, in their exercise, with excellent sense, shrewdness in business matters, and extraordinary force of character. The French Canadian writer, Ferland, thus describes her: —"Her soul, strong and great, seemed to elevate itself naturally above the miseries which assailed the infant colony. At a time when most people were fearing that the French would be forced to quit the colony, she quietly pursued her work and the study of the language of the Hurons, in order to be useful to the young girls of those savages, allowing herself to be neither hindered by fear nor carried away by enthusiasm. She wrote a prodigious number of letters. One is astounded to find in her compositions an accuracy of perception and of style, and a solidity of judgment, which inspire a lofty opinion of this truly superior woman. Equally skilful in the use of the needle, the scissors, and the pen, she was also qualified to oversee all the work connected with the construction of the

* She was married at an early age to M. de la Peltrie, and left a widow at twenty-two. She is reported to have been a lady of refined manners and tastes, and of great personal beauty. The opposition which her relatives in France made to her project has been adverted to in a former note (p. 106).

buildings, inside and out.* She was charged with all the affairs of the convent. She learned the two native languages, Huron and Algonquin. She composed, for the use of the Ursuline teachers, a dictionary, sacred history, catechism, and a collection of prayers in the Algonquin, as well as vocabularies and catechisms in the Huron and Iroquois languages. Her letters and meditations were printed in France after her death." Her compositions and letters contained, from time to time, information relative to the state and progress of the colony, including notices of the governors, nearly all of whom were in the habit of paying visits of courtesy to the Superior of the Ursuline Convent.

The virtues and character of the foundress, Madame de la Peltrie, and of the first Superior of the institution, undoubtedly exercised a powerful influence upon the dispositions and manners of the colonists—directly upon those of the females, indirectly upon the inhabitants at large.*

127. Talon, who quitted Canada at the same time as Governor Courcelle, was a man of very great abilities, and rendered great services to the colony. His office of *Royal Intendant* placed him, under the constitution of 1663, in charge of the police, finance, and administration of justice. His letters and reports to the French minister at Paris (*Colbert*) furnish many instructive details respecting the colony. These prove that he, like Champlain, saw clearly what measures were requisite for building up the colony on substantial foundations. He urged the minister to concern himself in promoting the welfare of Canada, by which, he said, he would consult his own glory. He advised freeing

* The "History of the Ursulines of Quebec" furnishes lists of names of the girls educated there. From the early days of the colony up to the present, the establishment has been a principal means of education to young women belonging to the better classes of society in Canada. The establishments founded by *Madame Bourgeois* performed the same offices in Montreal.

the inhabitants from restrictions in regard to commerce, especially from the hands of commercial companies, who would care only for their own gains. He devoted his attention to the most minute details relating to agriculture and to the industrial occupations of the colonists—of whom he boastfully remarks, in one of his letters, that his "peasants of New France could clothe themselves from head to foot with apparel of their own manufacture."*

He encouraged the manufacture of salt and potash, and the building of ships, and sent different kinds of wood and of extracts to France, to show that the King's dockyards could be supplied from Canada. The cultivation of flax and hemp was also promoted by him. Talon proposed expeditions for extending the boundaries of New France northward and westward, and which subsequently resulted in the discovery, by an overland route, of the North Sea (*Hudson's Bay*), as also of the river Mississippi and its tributaries.

Among other useful projects encouraged by the personal exertions of Talon, were the exploration and opening of mines as a source of industrial occupation to the people and profit to the colony; but, although the iron of Three Rivers was abundant, of good quality, and easily worked, many years elapsed before the sagacious Intendant's scheme met with any favour in the mother country. He projected better plans of dividing the country into *fiefs* or seigniories, and of providing for the people the means of access to justice in all civil cases at little cost and without delay or uncertainty.

* Up to this period nearly all kinds of manufactures were forbidden in the colony, and the inhabitants required to depend almost exclusively upon articles, even of clothing and for domestic use, imported from France. About this time some of the restrictions relative to linen and fabrics of other materials were removed.

Talon has been styled the *Colbert of Canada*. *Colbert* was the most enlightened statesman of France at that period, and combined within himself most of the qualifications of his predecessors, *Richelieu* and *Mazarin*, the chief advisers of Louis XIII. and Louis XIV. He was distinguished, besides, by greater personal integrity than those personages possessed. In fact, Colbert may be esteemed the principal instrument of the greatness attained by France under Louis XIV., notwithstanding the extremely despotic character and personal profligacy of this King. Talon, on a smaller scale, in Canada, by his wonderful energy and ability, effected results of a similar nature to those produced by Colbert in France, especially in procuring that all the institutions of the country and all authority should centre in the King. He also was the principal means of establishing in Canada the general system of management of affairs, political, civil, and commercial, which prevailed up to the time when the colony was finally severed from the mother country. Even the warlike disposition which the French Canadians displayed subsequently to his days was mainly sustained by the arrangements introduced by Talon, and which secured a succession of military Seignieurs—those of Portneuf, Becancour, Sorel, Chambly, and others—whose names are noted in the struggles of the colony. To what has already been said in commendation of this remarkable man, it may be added, that he was well versed in philosophy and learning, and that he was loyal and honest. Had his successors been equally gifted and capable, as well as equally honourable in the management of affairs confided to them as Intendants, it may be conjectured that the resources and progress of the colony in all respects would have been very much greater than they were found to be at the close of another century. Not long after Talon's departure for France, where he continued to promote the interests of

Canada, his nephew, *M. Perrot*, became Governor or Commandant of the Island of Montreal.

The colony, under the auspices of M. de Courcelle, and especially of Talon, had made very considerable progress. Between the years 166[illegible] 1670, the European population had increased from about three thousand to upwards of six thousand souls.* Talon had gone on a visit to France in 1668, and when he returned in 1670 he had brought out six Recollets, whose arrival occasioned great joy among the people, with whom the religious persons of that order were favourites. Many gentlemen, also, with officers and soldiers of the Carignan Regiment, came in the same year to occupy seigniories and lands granted to them on the banks of the St Lawrence. There were at this time more than a hundred scholars taught by the Jesuits in their college at Quebec, including both French and Indians.†

Quebec had already begun to be styled a *city*, including numerous religious edifices, as well as groups of houses of stone and wood occupied by the French, and the cabins or wigwams of Indians, ‡ located within reach of protection from the principal structure, Fort St Louis. In Ville

* In the year 1670-71 the births of nearly seven hundred infants were registered at Quebec.

† As regards the results of efforts made to train and instruct the Indian children, it is recorded that they were, on the whole, unsatisfactory. The King of France repeatedly sent out directions to spare no pains in reducing the savages to the French habits and modes of life; but all that could be done, whether for children or adults, failed to effect any permanent change in their tastes and disposition, or to wean them from their preference for forest life. On the other hand, many French went to take up their quarters among the savages, and adopted their wild ways of living.

‡ The Indians here referred to were mostly Hurons, the relics of the dispersed Huron nation that had taken refuge in Quebec. About the period indicated in the text they were all removed to *St Foye*, westward of the city. Some years later, about 1674 or 1675, they were again removed, and settled about nine miles north of the city at *Lorette*, where their descendants are still to be seen.

Marie (Montreal) there were about seven hundred European inhabitants, and the place began to be laid out into streets within a space surrounded by a sort of wall and of quadrangular shape. M. Perrot, Talon's nephew, had been appointed C[illegible]mandant by the Seminary of St Sulpice, who had jurisdiction over the Island of Montreal.

About this time a number of converted Iroquois migrated to Canada, and were located, at first, on lands at La Prairie. Subsequently, as it was found that the soil and aspect were unsuited to the cultivation of their principal article of food, *maize*, they were moved to Sault St Louis (*Caughnawaga*), and lands assigned them, which are occupied by their descendants to this day.

But, as an offset to the general conditions which favoured the welfare of the colony, the inhabitants, both French and Indians, were troubled with maladies which proved fatal to many. *Scurvy* (*mal-de-terre*) not unfrequently affected the settlers, and particularly the soldiers in garrison, as well as the aborigines. One of the most d[illegible]lful scourges of those times was the *small-pox*. The [illegible]of vaccination was then unknown,* so that even in Europe the small-pox was often prevalent, unchecked, and carried off its victims, both rich and poor. In North America the native tribes suffered greatly from this disease. The years 1669 and 1670 were remarkable for its prevalence among the western Indians and the Iroquois, as well as the Canadian savages. The latter fell victims to it in such numbers that soon

* The discovery of vaccination by *Dr Jenner* was not made until about 1776, and the value of it not recognised generally for many years after that time. The small-pox had proved fatal to members of many royal and noble families in Europe during the previous century, besides carrying off multitudes of people. *Count Platoff*, the Cossack chief, said to Dr Jenner in 1814—"Sir, you have extinguished the most pestilential disorder that ever appeared on the banks of the Don."

afterwards the settlement at Sillery was nearly depopulated, and Tadoussac, for a time, quite deserted.

It was also about this time that the Iroquois began to establish, on a considerable scale, a regular traffic with the northern and western Indians, in such manner as to draw off the trade in skins from the route of the Lower St Lawrence, and so as to make themselves the channel of communication with [redacted] of the English colonies, who paid [redacted] French. De Courcelle, foreseeing [redacted] with the western tribes would [redacted] in that way undertook the expedition to the n[redacted] shore of Ontario, in order to menace the Senecas, as has been already described. The same cause led that Governor to project the establishment of a fort and military station at *Cataracoui* (*Kingston*), which was afterwards built by his successor, and called *Fort Frontenac*. This proceeding, of course, displeased the [redacted] of the cantons, as being calculated [redacted] and to intercept the northern [redacted] s of the chase.*

* It was dur[redacted] that Charles II. of England granted [redacted] Bay Company, viz., in 1669. That Co[redacted] affic over all the territory bordering [redacted]

In June 1672 [redacted] by the indefatigable Talon by the way [redacted] *St John's*, succeeded in reaching the [redacted] ed by the French "The North Sea."

CHAPTER XVIII.

COUNT FRONTENAC, GOVERNOR—DISSENSIONS—ARBITRARY PROCEEDINGS OF THE GOVERNOR—APPEAL TO THE COURT OF FRANCE—FRONTENAC'S ABILITY—FORT FRONTENAC—LA SALLE—MARQUETTE AND JOLIET—DISCOVERY OF THE MISSI[illegible]—NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE IROQUO[illegible] COUREURS DES BOIS—DISSEN[illegible] GOVERNOR AND INTENDANT—[illegible] AGRICULTURAL RESOURCES—EX[illegible] —LAVAL, FIRST BISHOP OF QUEBEC[illegible] SALLE.

128. THE successor of De Courcel[illegible] *Buade Frontenac*, had served more th[illegible] armies of France before he became [illegible]or of Canada. In conjunction with many brilliant qu[illegible], which fitted him for exercising a strong person[illegible]ir[illegible]ace upon the inhabitants, and especially the savag[illegible]art[illegible]ced under his rule, Frontenac had a haughty spiri[illegible]nd manner, and a temper which brought him ofte[illegible]ollision with the other officials. On the retire[illegible]lon, Laval also being absent in France for [illegible]time, the new Governor claimed and exercised nearly all the powers of the Supreme Council. But when a successor, M. Duchesneau, came to occupy Talon's place, and when Laval returned, Frontenac's pretensions were resisted by those functionaries, and the consequence was a state of dissension which endured throughout the period of his administration.

129. The subjects of dispute were the relative powers of the Governor, Bishop, and Intendant; also the liquor

traffic, and, finally, the recourse to arbitrary measures by the Governor from time to time. The Governor claimed the right to exercise nearly all the functions, which, by express authority of the court of France, belonged to the Intendant's office. As regards the Bishop and clergy, Frontenac seems to have repudiated altogether their title to concern themselves in civil affairs. And in regard to the liquor traffic, the evils of which were represented to have reached to a fearful pitch, Frontenac accused his opponents of exagge[illegible] those evils from selfish motives, and for the [illegible]se to their own power and [illegible] the other hand, was charged [illegible]n profiting by, those abuses. [illegible]ssensions, Frontenac became more [illegible]l of the members were banished. [illegible]Montreal, was arrested and sent [illegible]ring a year's imprisonment at Quebec. [illegible] *Fenelon*, was banished to France.*

130. These [illegible]us causes of strife between the local authorities were referred to the court of France, and the Bishop himself went to sustain his own side.

Frontenac, however, had influential friends, and there existed, besides, on[illegible] part of Colbert, the King's minister, a disposition to di[illegible] the influence of the clergy in all save religious a[illegible]ntenac was therefore to some extent sustained, and La[illegible] failed to procure the decided prohibition of the liquor traffic which he desired. But,

* This M. Perrot, who has been mentioned as being the nephew of Talon, was charged with having insulted an officer of Frontenac, named *Bizard*. Perrot was subsequently, in 1684, sent out to Acadia in the capacity of Governor there. There was another Perrot—*Nicholas Perrot*—a celebrated Canadian traveller, remarkable for his address in dealing with the western savages, and who rendered great services to Canada in the way of inducing them to remain peaceable. He flourished during about forty years from 1663 or 1664.

notwithstanding the imperfect satisfaction which resulted to Frontenac's opponents from their appeal, he did not escape blame. Colbert announced to him that, although it was his place to take precedence of members of the Supreme Council, yet it was his duty merely to preside and to submit matters to be deliberated upon and decided by the body. The Intendant's powers were even enlarged, the banished members of Council, excepting one who had died, were replaced, and the Governor, in general terms, rebuked for his arbitrary proceedings.

The dissensions were not brought to an end by the appeal made to France; for the enmity between the Governor and Duchesneau continued until both were subsequently recalled, and the Bishop made a second voyage to France, in order to procure a settlement more to his satisfaction of the vexed liquor traffic question.*

131. Apart from the failings of character indicated in the preceding article, Frontenac showed great ability in the discharge of the duties of his office. Immediately after his arrival in 1672, he took in hand the prosecution of plans devised by his predecessor De Courcelle, and by Talon.

* In 1676 orders were sent to Frontenac to investigate particularly the alleged evils of the liquor traffic, with the assistance of twenty-four persons chosen from the inhabitants; but he was directed, at the same time, not to allow the action of the ecclesiastical authorities to take the place of the King's in a matter stated to be one of police, and of a civil nature. The majority of the twenty-four persons declared in favour of continuing the traffic on the grounds of necessity, since otherwise all the traffic of the Indians would go to the English and Dutch. A report to this effect was drawn up and sent to France, upon which, Laval being then in Paris, the whole question was referred to the Archbishop of Paris and another ecclesiastic. The final result was, that orders were sent out to Canada prohibiting the French from carrying liquor to the woods or to the habitations of the Indians. Laval could effect no more, and after occupying himself about two years in accomplishing that much, he returned to Quebec, where he and his clergy continued strenuously to oppose the practices of which they had complained.

The former had, as already mentioned, proposed the construction of fortifications at Cataracoui. Frontenac, perceiving the wisdom of that design, set about its execution. Batteaux, canoes, artillery, ammunition, and all requisite supplies were forwarded to the place in the summer of 1673, along with four hundred men to construct the works and form the garrison of the post. In the course of a week the place was made fit for occupation, and about twenty acres of contiguous land enclosed for cultivation.

The plans for intercepting the traffic of the northern tribes included the building of a barque to navigate the lake, as well as the construction of another fort at Niagara. In these undertakings Frontenac had the aid of a very useful coadjutor, *M. la Salle.**

132. Frontenac concerned himself in furthering another important project which had been recommended by M. Talon, namely, the exploration of the great river, which the Western Indians reported as running southward from the region of the great lakes. *Louis Joliet*, an enterprising merchant of Quebec, was deputed to conduct a party on this service. He first went, with five Frenchmen and a priest named *Marquette*, to *Michilimakinac*,† in December 1672. Early in the spring they made for the country of the Illinois, and passed by the way of *Fox* River and the *Wisconsin*, into the *Mississippi*, which they reached on June 17, 1673. They then descended the Mississippi as far as the confluence of the river *Arkansas*,‡ but returned

* See the sketch of this enterprising man given in Article 139.

† Michilimakinac at the straits between Lakes Michigan and Huron.

‡ The immediate cause of their turning back, after going so far south as to arrive in lat. 33°, was their inability to make any further use of Marquette's knowledge of the Indian dialects, which had hitherto served their purposes in holding intercourse with the scattered tribes along the banks of the river.

The earlier French writers, Charlevoix, La Potherie, &c., and their numerous copyists, who have related the discovery of the Mississippi, de-

to winter at *St Francois Xavier*, a French missionary station south of the "*Baie du Puants,*" on the west of Lake Michigan.

Thus was made the first discovery by Europeans of the great river Mississippi. Joliet separated from Marquette in the spring of 1674; and, after an eventful and dangerous journey, in course of which, at the rapids above Montreal, he lost his papers and almost his life, reached Quebec. His report to Frontenac was transmitted to Colbert, to whom it was stated by the Governor: "This great river, which bears the name of *Colbert*, from having been discovered lately in consequence of the orders given by you, passes from beyond lakes Huron and Michigan, and flows through Florida and Mexico into the sea, inter-

scribe many interesting incidents connected with the proceedings of the intrepid explorers. At first they had guides to accompany them, but these soon deserted, leaving them to proceed alone on their unknown course. Soon after reaching the Mississippi, they lost sight of all traces of human inhabitants, and for a distance of nearly two hundred miles saw no signs of humanity. On leaving one party of Indians, with whom they spent six days, the chief attached to Marquette's neck the head feathers of a particular bird, as a symbol of peace and safeguard amongst other tribes they would fall in with farther south. The travellers found this very serviceable. Passing the mouths of the Missouri and Ohio, and other tributaries of the great river, they came to regions where there was a sensible change of climate. The prairies disappeared, and were replaced by forests of walnuts. They found abundance of wild roses and other flowers, but the heat of the sun was insupportable; their sufferings being further augmented by encountering myriads of mosquitoes. Everywhere, when bands of natives approached them in a menacing manner, the display of the symbol on Marquette's neck exercised a magic influence, and produced manifestations of friendship. Near to the mouth of the Arkansas, where were tribes of Sioux and Chikasas, they found the Huron and Algonquin dialects, as well as all other means of verbal communication, fail; but they beheld, in the arms and implements of the natives, proofs of intercourse between them and the English of Virginia, as well as the Spaniards of the Gulf of Mexico. Then they returned towards the north, observing, as they reached lat. 38°, regions of incomparable beauty and fertility, and the prairies covered with buffaloes and deer, along with innumerable geese, ducks, and wild-fowl.

secting the most beautiful region that is to be seen in the world."

About eight years after the discovery, La Salle completed the work of Joliet and Marquette by navigating the Mississippi all the way down to its entrance into the Gulf of Mexico.

133. During the administration of Frontenac, although the colony enjoyed a continuance of repose from actual warfare with its ancient enemies the Iroquois, yet there were frequent occasions when peace came into jeopardy. The Five Nations kept up hostilities with other tribes to the south and west, and in the latter direction made themselves felt as far as the river Mississippi. The Illinois and Miamis, and some wandering bands of Ottawas and other nations, although known to be friends and allies of the French, were continually attacked by the Iroquois. The latter were also displeased by the erection of Forts Frontenac, Niagara, and of others farther west, at which the indefatigable La Salle had established trading posts. In consequence many negotiations occurred between Frontenac and the Iroquois, who displayed a growing indifference to the maintenance of amity with the French. In the meantime, Garaconthié, the great friend of the French, died in 1677, and his loss increased the danger of a rupture.

At length Frontenac invited the Iroquois to send deputies to Cataracoui to arrange all difficulties. The savages demanded that the meeting should take place at *Chouagen* (Oswego). The Governor refused to accede to this proposal, and, when the Iroquois subsequently expressed their willingness to come to Cataracoui, Frontenac haughtily declared that he would go no farther to meet them than Montreal. In the end, the Governor's firmness prevailed, and a great meeting was held at Montreal in 1680. On

this occasion the brilliant qualities of the Governor afforded much delight to the barbarian negotiators. He appeared before them with great pomp, and, seizing the hatchets from the hands of the Iroquois, threw them into the river, exclaiming, that not only the Hurons and Algonquins, but also the Ottawas, Illinois, and Miamis, were his children, and under French protection. Professions of amity were made, but the Iroquois, although willing to yield to the Governor's wishes in other respects, would not accede to his demand for the discontinuance of all hostilities against the Illinois. The relations between the cantons and the French colony remained on the same uncertain footing up to the time of Frontenac's recall in 1682.

134. The *West Indian Company* had already been deprived of its privileges in Canada about the year 1675. La Salle, who was deputed, in 1677, to visit France, to procure authority for prosecuting the explorations of Joliet and Marquette, received a grant of powers as *Seignieur* over a considerable tract, including Fort Frontenac, and some islands on the lake. In return, he was to erect stone walls and fortifications in place of the wooden ones, and to maintain the garrison there. La Salle also established many other forts and trading posts, comprehending those at *Lachine, Niagara, Michilimakinac, Baie de Puants,* and *River St Joseph,* together with Fort *Crevecour,* among the Illinois, and some others. At this time there were many French traders distributed among the tribes in various directions to whom the existence of these military and trading posts was highly useful as a source of protection. It was customary then for the Governor to issue what were called "*congés,*" permitting their owners to carry articles of commerce amongst the Indian tribes for the purpose of bartering for skins. But the class of French traders,

known as the "*Coureurs des Bois*"* had become very numerous, exceeding, it is said, five hundred—more than one-twentieth of the entire European population. It was therefore determined to enforce more strictly the law which prohibited the absence of a Frenchman in the woods longer than twenty-four hours without the express permission of the Governor. But the practice which it was desired to counteract was scarcely affected.

135. Meanwhile the dissensions described in the second article of this chapter not only continued, but attained a pitch that seemed to render concord among the chief authorities of the colony impossible.† To put an end to this state of things, the court of France recalled both Governor and Intendant, and appointed as successors *M. de la Barre* and *M. de Meulles* in 1682.

136. The year before Frontenac's recall, the total population of the colony, according to the census taken, was about ten thousand, of whom about two thousand were able to bear arms.‡ At the same time there were about twenty-two thousand acres of land under cultivation. The agricultural property of the colonists comprised seven thousand

* They consisted, for the most part, of young and vigorous men, who employed themselves in penetrating amongst remote tribes of Indians for the purposes of traffic. Many of them carried the skins obtained to the New England colonies, where they received prices twentyfold those procurable at the French stations. The means of restraining and punishing the *coureurs des bois* became a subject of controversy amongst the members of the Council.

† Towards the close of his administration, Frontenac's overbearing conduct towards the chief members of the Council became intolerable. Acrimonious altercations occurred. The Intendant's son, a youth of seventeen, was imprisoned for complaining that the Governor had struck him. One of the officials, on refusing to sign the minutes of a meeting, was taunted and threatened by the Governor, who rudely prevented him from leaving the apartment in which the councillors had assembled.

‡ The population of the English colonies was far more numerous, and included at least thirty-five thousand men able to bear arms.

horned cattle, about eighty horses, and upwards of six hundred sheep and goats. The annual exports of the colony were worth about three hundred thousand francs, and the government expenditure about three hundred and fifty thousand.

137. In the year 1682 a great fire occurred at Quebec, by which nearly all the buildings of the lower town were destroyed.

138. The ecclesiastical affairs of the colony had, some years before the recall of Frontenac, been placed on a more definite footing. In 1674, M. Laval was installed as the first Bishop of Quebec. With the increase of the population and of the settlements on the banks of the St Lawrence, the number of regular priests and of parishes was augmented in proportion. Bishop Laval, although a man of great zeal in the cause of religion, and earnestly desirous of promoting the establishment of an efficient church system in the colony, was of an arbitrary and intolerant disposition in his manner of dealing with those who opposed or thwarted his plans. With respect to the establishment of parishes and the appointment thereto of curés, or parish priests, an ordinance of the court of France required that the positions of these ecclesiastics should be permanent—so that the Bishop was allowed to appoint, but not to remove or displace them. In order to neutralise this restriction, which the Bishop esteemed inconsistent with the proper administration of ecclesiastical affairs, it was arranged that in the case of every appointment the curé should enter into a written agreement, one stipulation of which provided that at the end of certain periods the engagement should cease or be renewed as might seem best. Thus the irrevocable nature of the office of parish priest was anticipated.

One of the most vexatious causes of trouble to the haughty spirit of Laval was a controversy which arose between him

and the Recollets. These, as has been stated, were again introduced into the colony by Talon in 1678. They were replaced on the lands formerly occupied by them near Quebec, on the banks of the St Charles, where they built a monastery, named "Notre Dame de St Anges." Desiring to have a footing within the city limits, Laval permitted them to erect an hospital in the Upper Town, but expressly forbade their opening a public place of worship, on the ground that the citizens, less than five thousand in number, were already sufficiently provided for in the churches of the Hotel Dieu, the Ursulines, and the Jesuits, and in the Cathedral. The Recollets, taking advantage of the pretext that a chapel was needed for the use of the sick, added a place of worship. One of their order happening to die, they made arrangements for his burial in their chapel, and for a public funeral. Laval prohibited these proceedings, offering the Cathedral for the burial-service and the interment. The Recollets proved refractory, and in spite of the Bishop's prohibition and subsequent interdict, celebrated the obsequies of their deceased brother publicly in their own chapel, with great pomp, and amidst a large concourse of the citizens. Laval was deeply chagrined at these occurrences, and wrote to the Superiors of the Recollets at Paris, complaining of their conduct. His difficulties with the Governor on the subject of the liquor traffic, and relative to the exercise of his functions in matters appertaining to the Supreme Council, together with his growing infirmities, added to the other troubles which have been mentioned, caused Laval at length to apply to the King for a successor.

139. During the period of Frontenac's administration, Robert la Salle, a man of enterprising genius, who had come to Canada in 1666, was busily active in extending the outposts and influence of the French among the

western tribes. While in occupation of Fort Frontenac, as Commandant, he had been visited by Joliet, on his way down to Quebec, when returning from his expedition to the Mississippi. La Salle's ardent imagination was excited by the report relative to the magnificent valley of the great river, and he passed over to France to submit plans of colonisation to the French minister. Returning in 1678, he constructed a vessel and navigated Lake Erie, at the western extremity of which he founded a station on the site of the modern city *Detroit*. Thence he passed through and named *Lake St Clair;* and traversing Lake Huron, founded a trading post at Michilimakinac (Straits of Makinaw). Entering Lake Michigan, he sailed across to the *Baie du Puants* (Green Bay), from which he proceeded southward to the river St Joseph, on the banks of which he established Fort Miamis. Upon the site of modern Chicago, and at other places among the Illinois Indians, he also founded trading posts. In the following year, 1682, La Salle conducted an expedition to the Mississippi, down which he descended to the sea. He formally claimed the entire valley of the great river for the King of France, in honour of whom he conferred upon it the name of *Louisiana*.*

* After Frontenac's departure, La Salle incurred the displeasure of the Governor, M. de la Barre, by whom he was accused of occasioning troubles with the western tribes. La Salle perished some time afterwards (in the spring of 1687), in course of attempts to colonise the valley of the Mississippi, near its mouths. On his voyage down the Mississippi he was accompanied by a Recollet priest, named *Hennepin*, who wrote an account of the undertaking. The date of La Salle's first arrival on the Mississippi from Canada was February 2, 1682.

CHAPTER XIX.

FRONTENAC'S SUCCESSORS, M. DE LA BARRE AND M. DE DENONVILLE —DE LA BARRE'S ABORTIVE EXPEDITION AGAINST THE IROQUOIS —HIS RECALL—BISHOP LAVAL'S SUCCESSOR, M. DE ST VALLIER— THE ENGLISH INTRIGUES WITH THE IROQUOIS — DENONVILLE'S EXPEDITION AGAINST THE SENECAS—FORT NIAGARA BUILT— RESULTS OF THE WAR WITH THE SENECAS—A DOUBTFUL PEACE CONCLUDED—DISASTROUS CONDITION OF THE COLONY—MASSACRE OF LACHINE—PLANS OF THE GOVERNOR AND M. DE CALLIERE— DESIGNS OF THE ENGLISH COLONISTS — RUIN OF THE FRENCH COLONY IMMINENT—RECALL OF DENONVILLE, AND RE-APPOINTMENT OF FRONTENAC.

140. DURING the seven years subsequent to the departure of Frontenac in 1682, the position of Governor was occupied in succession by *M. de la Barre* and *M. de Denonville.* M. de la Barre had previously served his country against the Dutch at Cayenne, and against the English in the West Indies, and entered upon the governorship of New France with an honourable reputation.

De Denonville also was a military officer of distinction. He had served in the armies of France as a colonel of dragoons, and was considered a soldier of proved courage and ability, and highly esteemed at the court of France.

It will be seen that during the administration of these two rulers Canada was subjected to many disasters, so that, by the year 1689, the condition of the colony became deplorable, when Frontenac was re-appointed Governor, in order to rescue it from ruin.

141. At the time when M. de la Barre entered upon his

office, the Iroquois felt emboldened by the withdrawal of the French chief, his predecessor, whom they had respected and feared, and whose tact and vigour had alone kept them within bounds. Instigated by Colonel Dongan, Governor of New York, they proclaimed themselves the allies of England, and repudiated the claims of the French to any territory south or west of the great lakes. Many acts of pillage were committed by them against the French traders, and they continued their hostile attacks upon the Illinois and other tribes under French protection.

142. M. de La Barre, after spending many months in vainly endeavouring to conciliate those barbarians, made preparations for war. Orders were sent to the commandants stationed at posts on the great lakes to furnish as many Frenchmen and friendly savages as possible. The missionaries serving among the people of the cantons were instructed to detach the Oneidas, Onondagas, and Cayugas, from the cause of the Senecas, against whom chiefly the Governor intended to direct his attacks. Men were sent to reinforce the garrison at Fort Frontenac, and the Governor in person went with a number of barges full of soldiers to Montreal. At this place, about twelve hundred troops, militia and savages, were assembled.

143. Proceeding to Lake Ontario, the army crossed over to the south shore, to a station called *Famine*, where deputies from the cantons presented themselves as negotiators for peace. Although they were scarcely courteous, and refused to accede to the Governor's demands relative to the Illinois, yet, as some of his other stipulations were agreed to, he somewhat hastily came to terms with them, and concluded a peace which was regarded as inglorious and disadvantageous throughout the colony. In the meantime, two hundred Canadians, with five hundred warriors belonging to the Hurons, Ottawas, and Outagamis, arrived from

the west, only to find that their services were not needed. The result tended materially to alienate the feelings of those savages who had been hitherto friendly to the French. This abortive expedition occurred in September 1684.

144. The Governor, on his return to Quebec, had the mortification to find that not only did his own officers disapprove of his conduct, but also that the King, in letters from Paris, expressed hopes of soon hearing that the Iroquois were effectually chastised.

As soon, however, as M. de la Barre's proceedings became known in France, through the reports brought by the latest vessels from Canada, he was superseded by the appointment of M. de Denonville, on the 1st of January 1685.

145. About this time, *M. de St Vallier*, the proposed successor of Bishop Laval, was in Canada, having come out for the purpose of making a tour through the colony, and through Acadia, preparatory to assuming the position of chief ecclesiastic of New France. He first went back to Paris, and subsequently, in 1688, returned to Canada, and was installed as Bishop of Quebec.

Laval, at the time of his retirement, had been in the colony thirty years.*

* M. Laval, after his resignation, continued to reside at Quebec, where he died in the year 1708, at the advanced age of eighty-six. He belonged to the noble French *Montmorency* family. Although, as has been mentioned in the text, he was of a haughty disposition, he was a hard-working and exemplary prelate. In two remarkable instances he gave proof of possessing a generous and forgiving disposition towards those who were willing to afford the occasion for its exercise, as in the case of De Mesy, and also M. de Queylus, who had both been extremely hostile to him. De Queylus, after having opposed Laval bitterly during several years, was forgiven and treated as a friend.

The seminary founded by Laval in 1663 was transformed, in 1852, into the university which now bears his name.

146. De Denonville brought out instructions similar to those given to his predecessors relative to the Canadian Indians. He was to see that they were led to abandon savage life and adopt French manners and customs. He was to support and defend the French allies in the west, and to carry the war into the territory of the Iroquois, if, by so doing, he could humiliate them and secure the Illinois, Miamis, and Ottawas.

147. Denonville, after being a short time in the colony, saw that it was impossible to convert the Hurons and Algonquins into civilised beings, and he reported that "the savages who approach us do not become French; but the French who associate with the Indians become savages."

He found that the English colonists intrigued with the Iroquois, sustaining and encouraging them in acts of hostility towards the French. French refugees also were encouraged to come to New York, and were employed as guides to lead English merchants into the Indian settlements on the borders of the great lakes. The Iroquois also behaved with great insolence towards the French, slaughtering their allies and pillaging their traders. Colonel Dongan advised the Iroquois not to visit the French stations for the purposes of traffic, and directed that efforts be made to conciliate the Canadian Indians by restoring to them their prisoners, and also that the Iroquois at St Louis should be solicited to return to the cantons. Under these circumstances, the Governor saw that war was inevitable, and made his preparations accordingly during the years 1685 and 1686. The arrival of eight hundred recruits from France, in addition to about six hundred furnished to the colony during the time of M. de la Barre, at length enabled Denonville to mature his plans.

148. In the spring of 1687, the Governor assembled at Montreal a force consisting of one thousand militia, eight

hundred regulars, and about three hundred Indians, Hurons, Algonquins, Abenaquis, and Iroquois of Sault St Louis. He caused a large number of Iroquois chiefs and warriors to be enticed to Fort Frontenac, and there seized and placed in confinement. Thence they were sent to France to work in the King's galleys. To accomplish this act of treachery, he employed the services of two Jesuit priests, who unwittingly co-operated in the design.*

Moving up the St Lawrence with his army, Denonville crossed Lake Ontario to the south shore, where he constructed a small stone fort near the mouth of the river *Genessee*, to serve as a protection for the boats and batteaux of the expedition, and a place of refuge in case of disaster. Four hundred men were left to guard the post. Thence he marched towards the settlements of the Senecas.

About the middle of July, a conflict took place between the French and about eight hundred Senecas advantageously posted, by whom the western allies were speedily put to flight and some disorder occasioned in the ranks of the regulars. Eventually the victory was gained by the French with a loss of six killed and twenty wounded. The Senecas retired into the forest, and Denonville with his army moved upon their nearest bourgade. After a slight skirmish the people of the village set fire to their own habitations, and then betook themselves to the woods. No less than four hundred thousand bushels of Indian corn were found and destroyed, besides a large number of hogs. The destruction of the provisions and growing crops of the Senecas occupied about ten days. At the end of this time, Denonville judged it expedient to retire, as there was no enemy to fight, and as the troops were attacked by

* The Governor had received instructions from the court of France to select robust men from amongst his Iroquois prisoners to be sent home to man the King's galleys.

dysentery. The Senecas also caused it to be intimated to him that they would go to attack the French settlements, then defenceless, owing to the absence of most of the male inhabitants capable of bearing arms. The army, therefore, retreated to Fort Sable, where the boats had been left.

On crossing the lake, the whole force passed to its western extremity, where, near to the Falls of Niagara, on the right bank of the river, a fort was quickly constructed and garrisoned by one hundred men.*

The effects of this campaign were disastrous to the Senecas, who were reduced to about one-half their former number by famine and disease consequent upon the destruction of their habitations, property, and provisions. At the same time, the attack upon and discomfiture of the Senecas disarranged, for a season, the plans and speculations of the English traders amongst the western tribes. But the more immediately beneficial effects to the French were soon afterwards neutralised by renewed incursions on the part of the Iroquois, who endeavoured to revenge themselves by invading the colony and ravaging the country around Fort Chambly and along the banks of the Richelieu.

For the defence of the colonists from these assaults, a body of one hundred and twenty *coureurs des bois* was

* The garrison was placed under the command of an officer named *De Troyes*. It happened that the place was furnished with damaged provisions, which occasioned dysentery and scurvy, so that the commandant and nearly all his men perished. The enfeebled remnant abandoned the fort, much to the Governor's chagrin, when he perceived that his scheme had failed. His plan had been to establish a chain of fortified posts, beginning with Fort Frontenac, and extending all the way to the country of the Illinois. Fort Niagara was the second of these posts; then came *Duluth*, at the mouth of the Detroit River, *Michilimakinac*, *St Joseph*, and *St Louis*, on the Illinois River. The failure at Niagara endangered the whole system.

armed and placed under *M. de Vaudreuil;* while on the Island of Montreal, where *M. de Calliere* was then commandant, twenty small forts were constructed for the inhabitants to retire into for shelter on the approach of their merciless enemies.

149. Meanwhile, James II., who then sat on the throne of England, and Louis XIV. of France, by mutual agreement, sent secret orders to their representatives in America to abstain from hostilities. Denonville, in reply, sent word to the French minister that it was important to continue the war with the Iroquois, and demanded a reinforcement of eight hundred soldiers, with one hundred and fifty labourers. The French minister informed Denonville that the King had need of his soldiers elsewhere, and, as only three hundred men could be spared, counselled him to make peace with the Iroquois on almost any terms. In consequence, several Iroquois negotiators were invited to come to Montreal in June 1688 to treat of peace. These demanded the demolition of Fort Niagara, and the restoration of the prisoners who had been so dishonourably seized and sent to France. To the former of these conditions the Governor willingly acceded, as he could not maintain the post; and as regarded the prisoners carried off, he stated that he had already written to the court requesting that they should be sent back. The result was a dubious state of peace. The chief of the English colonies, *Sir Edmond Andros*, successor of Dongan, denied the right of the Iroquois to enter into treaty with the French, unless the terms were sanctioned by the King of England; while the French, denying the sovereignty of the English over the cantons, sought to conclude a separate peace. Again, almost at the very time when Denonville was negotiating with the Iroquois chiefs, the English Governor, resenting the attacks of the Abenaquis both on

the Iroquois bands on the Richelieu and on the English settlements, marched with a force of seven hundred men, and devastated the settlements of the French allies, inflicting severe chastisement on the Abenaquis.

150. The years 1688–89 proved disastrous and almost fatal to the French colony, now numbering nearly twelve thousand souls. In the first place, the Iroquois were stimulated by the advice and the importunities of the English colonists to cast off their obligations binding them to keep peace with the French. Secondly, the treachery or duplicity of an influential Huron chief, named *Kondiaronk*,* caused the French to be suspected of bad faith. This savage was celebrated for his prowess in war, and for his eloquence and address, which gave him immense influence amongst his own people. He attacked and slaughtered the Iroquois when the supposed peace subsisted, and then pretended that the French had induced him, releasing at the same time the captives taken, and professing a desire for amity between the Iroquois and Hurons. Under such circumstances, the Iroquois resumed hostilities, animated by an ardent desire to wreak vengeance upon the French on account of their supposed double dealing, as well as the retention of their chiefs who had been sent to France, and the late destructive French incursion upon the Senecas. Then the troubles of the unfortunate colonists were grievously increased by disease, in the forms of small-pox, dysentery, scurvy, and fever, by which they were afflicted to such an extent that about fourteen hundred persons perished during a single year.

Added to these causes of suffering was the refusal or inability of the mother country to afford succour to the colonists.

* Nicknamed by the French "*Le Rat.*" He was styled by Charlevoix, the ablest and most meritorious savage the French had known in Canada.

151. In the year 1689, the Iroquois made a fearful onslaught upon the Island of Montreal with fourteen hundred warriors. The night of the 4th of August was signalised by an attack upon the dwellings of the inhabitants and settlements on the borders of the Sault St Louis, of whom several hundreds were ruthlessly killed and made captives. Shocking barbarities were perpetrated on this occasion, which is known in Canadian history as the "Massacre of Lachine." One French writer, in allusion to the cruelties of the Iroquois, says of them, that "*they surpassed themselves.*" Within the brief space of one hour about two hundred persons were cruelly butchered, and about the same number carried off to be subjected to captivity and torture. The whole island, excepting the fortified posts into which the soldiers and colonists threw themselves for protection, and out of which they dared not move, continued in the occupation of the Iroquois more than two months. In one of the posts, named *Fort Roland*, M. de Vaudreuil remained shut up with a considerable garrison, under strict orders from the commandant, *M. de Calliere*, not to quit the defences under any pretext or provocation. In consequence, a body of about one hundred French soldiers and Indians, coming to reinforce or to take shelter in the fort, was set upon by the Iroquois and killed almost to a man, within sight of its defenders. Respecting this disastrous period, it is recorded that "God seemed to have taken away all spirit and counsel from the French;" and the season had advanced to the month of October before the French soldiers and *coureurs des bois* dared to make any attempt to retaliate in the open field.

152. It was in course of the same year, 1689, that the veteran Governor, supported by the counsels of his subordinate, De Calliere, prepared and submitted to the court of France a most urgent representation of the condition of

the colony, together with plans for its effectual relief. It was stated that the Iroquois, like hungry and infuriated wolves, spreading themselves along the rivers and borders of the forest, everywhere ravaged the French settlements; that the colonists were too few in numbers to go forth to meet them, or to follow them in case of any successful effort to repulse them, since the Canadian savages were also much reduced, and not to be relied upon; that the only possible means of securing a precarious existence to the inhabitants and their animals consisted in having recourse to the construction of forts on every seigniory, but that while shut up in these forts or redoubts, no work could be done by the colonists on their lands, so that starvation and ruin stared them in the face, as food could not be provided for men and animals. It was further declared that the French cause in Canada could not be sustained with honour unless the Government in France should furnish four thousand men, and provisions for two years, along with other supplies. In order to strike at the very root of the evils by which they were encompassed, De Calliere suggested the necessity of putting an end to the power of the English colonists to injure the French, either by direct attacks, or by stimulating and assisting the Iroquois. To accomplish this great end, he proposed that France should make herself mistress of New York and Virginia, by purchase, treaty, or force. If force should be resorted to, he offered to effect the desired result, by conducting thirteen hundred soldiers and three hundred Canadians, by the route of the Richelieu and Lake Champlain, as if to make war on the cantons, and thence to diverge towards Fort *Orange*, on the Hudson, and *Manhattan* (*New York*), and capture the English posts by suddenly assaulting them in succession. "This conquest," he added, "would make the King master of one of the most beautiful seaports of

America, accessible at all seasons of the year, and of a region possessing a fine climate and fertile lands, which the English themselves conquered from the Dutch." The French King and his ministers approved of the plans submitted to them; and the divisions subsisting among the English colonists, in consequence of the haughty conduct of Governor Andros, as well as the animosities prevailing between the parties who quarrelled about the rival pretensions of James II. and King William III., appeared to render the opportunity a favourable one. Nothing, however, was done towards carrying those plans into execution, because the French Court would not, or could not, spare the necessary men and ships. Moreover, a state of open war between France and England did not exist at that moment,* notwithstanding the undisguised intention of Louis XIV. to support the pretensions of the exiled James II.

De Calliere, who had gone to France to advocate in person the designs which have been described, returned, after his fruitless endeavour, to the colony, with a small reinforcement of men and provisions. The country became more and more afflicted with its troubles, and absolute ruin seemed imminent. The animosity of the English colonists was naturally augmented when they became acquainted with the French designs, and they redoubled their efforts to injure Canada, and to restrain the Iroquois from listening to any terms of accommodation.† In fact, the English,

* War was declared soon afterwards, in May 1689. The expulsion of James from England, and the Revolution which placed William on the throne, occurred in 1688.

† The Iroquois were not entirely satisfied with their English allies, on account of their claiming sovereignty over the cantons. These barbarians desired to be independent of both parties, English and French, and were even disposed to come to terms with the latter rather than admit their subjection to the former, being all the time solicited by the French mis-

arriving at the same conclusion as the French, namely, that the rival colonies could not exist and thrive in the presence of each other, became earnest in devising projects for making themselves entire masters of the country. When war was declared in Europe, active preparations were commenced by the English colonists for effecting a conquest of the French colony, as complete as had been made about sixty years before, in its infant condition, under its first Governor, Champlain.

Thus afflicted at home, and menaced abroad, the doom of Canada seemed certain, when the reappointment of Frontenac to the governorship infused new life and vigour into the French councils. The gallant but unsuccessful Denonville was recalled to occupy a post at court in his native land.* His successor, Frontenac, arrived at Quebec on the 15th October 1689, and entered upon his second administration amidst the universal rejoicings of the inhabitants of that city.

sionaries amongst them to make peace. But the neighbourhood of the English colonists, as well as their superior strength and numbers, and the greater advantages derivable from traffic at New York, induced the Iroquois to refuse the overtures of the French.

* Denonville's character was that of a brave and honest man. He had seen much military service. He has been blamed for entering unnecessarily upon hostilities against the Iroquois, whom, by so doing, and by the manner in which their chiefs were seized and sent to serve in the French galleys, he converted from doubtful and troublesome neighbours into open and implacable foes. He also failed to complete the chastisement of the Iroquois when his successes against the Senecas placed that in his power; and is further censured for establishing the outpost at Niagara, which he could not sustain, and which was a standing offence to the Iroquois. Other grave errors are cited against his administration by French writers. On the other hand, his earnest and industrious efforts to promote the welfare of the colony, seem to have been of little account in the face of the overwhelming difficulties in which it was plunged. Denonville's interest in the colony did not cease on his retirement from the governorship.

CHAPTER XX.

FRONTENAC'S ACTIVITY AND MEASURES FOR THE RELIEF OF THE COLONY—FORT FRONTENAC—INDIAN CRUELTIES ON BOTH SIDES —PLANS OF M. DE CALLIERE—FRONTENAC'S EFFORTS TO DETACH AND CONCILIATE THE IROQUOIS—THREE INVASIONS OF THE TERRITORY OF THE ENGLISH COLONISTS ORGANISED BY THE GOVERNOR—DETAILS AND RESULTS—EXPEDITION TO MICHILIMAKINAC—CONTINUED ATTACKS OF THE IROQUOIS—FRONTENAC AND THE INDIANS AT MONTREAL—ADVANCE OF A NAVAL FORCE TO ASSAULT QUEBEC—FRONTENAC'S ENERGETIC MEASURES OF DEFENCE—SIGNAL DEFEAT OF THE INVADERS BEFORE QUEBEC—D'IBERVILLE.

155. As the critical condition of affairs admitted of no delay, Frontenac, three or four days after his arrival, hastened to Montreal, in order to further the measures necessary for the relief of the colony. In spite of his advanced age he displayed a wonderful energy and activity. Having learned that, in addition to the evacuation of Fort Niagara, the late Governor had ordered the demolition of Fort Frontenac, he caused the instant equipment of twenty-five canoes, with provisions and ammunition, which, with an escort of three hundred men, were intended to succour the latter post. Emissaries were sent forward bearing information of the reinforcement, and in the hope that it might not be too late to prevent Denonville's orders from being carried into effect. To Frontenac's great chagrin, M. de Varennes, the commandant of Fort Frontenac, arrived at Lachine with his garrison just as these succours were about to depart. He had destroyed the defences, ammunition, and provisions, to prevent the Iroquois from profiting by

them on the evacuation of the post by the French. The Governor's annoyance was increased by receiving news of the massacre of twenty Frenchmen, who fell a sacrifice to one of the bands of Iroquois then on the island.

Resolving, however, to reoccupy the abandoned fort on Lake Ontario as early as possible, and providing, as well as circumstances permitted, for the immediate safety of Montreal, Frontenac returned to Quebec, to mature and carry into execution his plans for dealing with the Iroquois, and for retaliating upon the English colonists. His projects embraced the twofold purpose of detaching or conciliating the Iroquois, and of organising incursions into the New England settlements.

156. In order to gain over the Iroquois, Frontenac sent messengers to the cantons, inviting them to depute negotiators, and announcing to them the return of the captive warriors from France. He had brought these out with him. On the passage across the Atlantic he had employed his opportunities of exercising personal interest, with such success, that he insinuated himself completely into their good graces. One of their number, *Oureouparé*, a chief of the Cayugas, became much attached to Frontenac, and was, subsequently, a useful and influential mediator between him and the people of the cantons.

The Governor considered it the more necessary to come to terms with the Iroquois, as intelligence had reached him from the West, to the effect that the Ottawas and other western tribes were on the point of abandoning the French cause, to enter into alliances with the cantons and the English. But in order to recover prestige amongst the savages generally, both friends and foes, it was indispensable for the French to exhibit some practical proofs of their military prowess, and to show that their late disasters had not extinguished their courage or destroyed their

ability to fight their European adversaries. This object also received the Governor's prompt attention, and was prosecuted in a manner as relentless as had been the recent incursions by the Iroquois into the French territory.

157. As has been already indicated, the case of the colony admitted of no delay in the execution of measures for restoring its fortunes. Accordingly, as soon as the Iroquois bands had withdrawn for the winter to their own quarters in the cantons, the Governor caused three bodies of French Canadians and savages to be equipped at Montreal, Three Rivers, and Quebec, which were destined to leave their respective stations simultaneously, and, by three different routes, to penetrate into the New England territory. In spite of the snow and the rigorous weather—for the time of departure was the very coldest season of the year—and regardless of the distances to be travelled, as well as the scarcity of provisions, more especially among their Indian auxiliaries, each of the three parties started on its murderous adventure about the end of January.

The division from Montreal, consisting of two hundred French Canadians and Indians, made for the Dutch and English settlements on the River Hudson. Passing on snowshoes across the intervening forests, rivers, and lakes, on Saturday the 18th February 1690, they came into the vicinity of *Corläer* (*Schenectady*), then occupied by about eighty families, chiefly of Dutch descent. The town was surrounded by a high fence or palisade, having gateways on the north and south sides. The invaders arranged their plans for penetrating through the northern entrance, and for commencing a general assault at two o'clock on the morning of the 19th. But, stimulated by hunger and cold, they commenced the attack full three hours before the appointed time. The inhabitants were buried in sleep, having retired wholly unconscious of the vicinity of their merciless

foes. The French and Indians, meeting with no obstacle, penetrated within the inclosure, and spreading throughout the town, broke into the houses, and everywhere commenced an indiscriminate slaughter. In a short time nearly all the buildings were set on fire, about sixty persons ruthlessly put to death, and a like number taken prisoners. Amongst the latter there were found to be thirty Mohawks, held in captivity, whom, after a hasty consultation, the French leaders, from motives of policy, set at liberty. Having completed the terrible massacre, almost without resistance or loss to their own party, the French, with their Indian auxiliaries, at once retreated towards Canada. Encumbered by their booty, which included fifty horses and their prisoners, the march homeward was slow, and the people from the nearest settlements assembled in pursuit and cut off many stragglers. This unexpected blow inspired the inhabitants of Albany, and the people of the English colony generally, with alarm, so that many with their families resolved upon removal to Manhattan (New York) for safety. The Iroquois, however, came to the rescue, and not only assisted in the pursuit of the retreating invaders, but also re-assured the colonists with promises of further aid, and of vengeance.*

* The narrative given in the text differs somewhat from the one in Frost's "History of the United States," quoted by Bell, the translator of Garneau's history:—"The French Governor, old Count de Frontenac, collected a body of French and Indians, and dispatched them, in the depth of winter, against New York. This party having wandered for twenty days through the deserts rendered trackless by the snow, approached the village of Schenectady in so exhausted a state that they had determined to surrender themselves prisoners of war. But arriving at a late hour on a stormy night, and finding, by means of their spies, that the inhabitants were asleep and without guard, they suddenly resolved to refuse the mercy which they had just been on the point of imploring; and, dividing themselves into several parties, they set fire to the village in many places, and attacked the inhabitants as they fled from the flames. Men, women, and children shared the same fate. Sixty persons were massacred and

The expedition from Three Rivers, under the command of *Francois Hertel*, who had with him his three sons and about fifty other Frenchmen and Indians, took the route of the rivers *St Francis* and *Connecticut*. After a laborious march of two months, they came to a place called *Salmon Falls* (*Portsmouth, New Hampshire*) on the 27th of March. Here another tragedy, similar to that of Corlaer, was enacted. About thirty of the inhabitants were massacred, and a number of prisoners taken, exceeding that of the invaders. The houses and outbuildings were destroyed by fire, all the domestic animals, to the number of two thousand, perishing in the flames. Only one Frenchman was killed on this occasion.

The third expedition, from Quebec, under the command of *M. de Portneuf*, moved along the valley of the *Chaudiere* into the territory now called *Maine*. It consisted of fifty French Canadians and about sixty Abenaquis. Pursuing their course along the valley of the *Kennebec*, their force was increased by the addition of other warriors belonging to the same nation.* On starting, the Indian auxiliaries were almost without provisions, so that during the march they could subsist only by spreading themselves through the forest, hunting for game. The design, in this case, was to attack and capture the fortified stations on the bay of *Casco*, near to the modern city of *Portland*. Owing to the

twenty-seven carried into captivity. . . . Of the fugitives who escaped, twenty-five lost their limbs by the frost. . . . The French retired loaded with plunder. This atrocious proceeding roused the indignation of all the colonies." It is added by the same translator:—"M. Boucher ('History of Canada,' vol. i. p. 151) states that the minister of the place was butchered, along with a number of women and children."—*Garneau*, vol. i. p. 324.

* Portneuf's command, on its way southward, was further augmented by falling in with the retiring band from Salmon Falls, a number of whom diverged from their homeward route and took part in this third expedition.

cause which has been named, as well as the impediments occasioned by the rough state of the regions through which they had to pass, Portneuf and his followers spent four months in proceeding to the destined points of attack. The town of Casco, on Casco Bay, was defended by a considerable fort, well supplied with cannon, ammunition, and provisions. There were also four smaller forts, which were speedily captured. The defenders of the principal fort made a show of resistance, and when summoned to surrender refused to do so. Two or three days were occupied by the invaders in digging trenches and surrounding the place, when it was yielded up on the terms which had been proposed. About thirty had been killed, and the prisoners included seventy men and a large number of women and children. The French lost only two or three men. After burning all the habitations, and demolishing the defences, the invaders commenced their retreat on the 1st of June. On the march, great cruelty was exercised by the savages upon the helpless women and children, many of whom were sacrificed. This band effected its return to Quebec on the 23d of June.

Thus, with forces, whose total strength was less than four hundred men, Frontenac succeeded in inflicting three heavy blows upon the English colonists, which not only created a profound impression amongst them, but also encouraged him to assume a confident and lofty tone towards the Indians. In fact, the French prestige was so far restored, that the Iroquois, in spite of the endeavours of the English colonists to dissuade them, resumed negotiations for peace, and sent deputies to congratulate the Governor on his return to administer the affairs of Canada.

But the lamentable incidents and results of these predatory incursions excited in the minds of the English generally a desire for revenge, and a determination to put forth all

their strength in an endeavour to destroy the French power in North America.*

158. Although a state of war had now for some time subsisted between the Governments of France and England, it is remarkable that the former, well informed of the need of succours, failed to supply these to its suffering colony. In fact, the renewed representations of De Calliere, now Governor of Montreal, supported by the recommendations of Frontenac, only drew from the minister of Louis XIV. a species of rebuke. His Majesty, it was alleged, "had occa-

* Respecting the three expeditions, and some subsequent ones, of which an account has been furnished in the text, it is right to inform the reader that different opinions have been expressed by writers, both lay and clerical, as regards their real character. If they are to be viewed in the same light as the massacres of the preceding year in the Island of Montreal, committed by the savage Iroquois alone, and unaccompanied by any of the English colonists, who were alleged to have instigated their Indian auxiliaries to make incursions, it is but fair to take into account the fact that the Iroquois themselves alleged, as a cause of their hostility, the treacherous conduct of Denonville and the Intendant, in seizing, imprisoning, and dispatching their chiefs and warriors to France, shutting them down during the sea-passage of several weeks in the holds of the small vessels of those days.

The personal presence and participation of a majority of French colonists in the proceedings at Corläer and Salmon Falls, would have conferred the character of legitimate warfare, had the sufferers been men with arms in their hands, instead of helpless families taken unawares in their sleep, and, with scarcely any resistance, consigned to sudden destruction by fire and tomahawk.

The historian *Garneau*, while he styles the massacre at Corläer a "frightful tragedy," designates the invaders as "intrepid bands," and speaks of their doings as "victorious."

The Iroquois delegates to the colonists at Albany told them that what had been done at Corläer was "not a victory, but a proof of cruel deceit," as if unmindful of the habit of the people of the cantons to practise the same species of cruelty and deceit when they had the opportunity.

The historian *Ferland* palliates, and, to a certain extent, justifies, the conduct of the French and Abenaquis, citing, in defence, the shocking massacres in Canada, and the encouragement afforded to the Iroquois by the English colonists (vol. ii. p. 205, 206).

sion for all his soldiers in Europe; the demands of his colonial officers were inopportune; and a defensive policy was the proper one to pursue." Thus the mother country left the colony to struggle unaided.

The English colonies also made appeals to their own Government for aid to enable them to fit out effective expeditions by sea and land against Canada. William III., however, and his Privy Council were, at that time, too intently occupied with affairs at home to give heed to their desires.

159. The Iroquois continued their incursions during the whole season of 1690. The Ottawas, and many of the Western Indians, were actually in treaty with the people of the cantons with a view to breaking with the French.

Frontenac, therefore, judged it necessary to follow up the blows inflicted at Corläer and Casco Bay, by other decisive measures for regaining the confidence of the Ottawas and other western tribes. For this purpose he selected the celebrated *Nicolas Perrot*,* and *M. Louvigny*, an officer of merit, to proceed by the route of the Ottawa river to Michilimakinac with a large convoy, and to carry presents and various supplies of merchandise, such as the savages required for warfare and the chase, as well as for domestic use. On the way thither this expedition fell in with hostile bands of Iroquois. In the fighting which ensued much loss to both sides was occasioned, and prisoners taken by the French were taken on to Michilimakinac, where, for the gratification of the natives, an Iroquois captive was cruelly handed over to torture.† The result of the expedition was a restoration of amity between the tribes and the French, owing principally to the exertions

* See Article 172, p. 228, for some particulars of the history and services of this remarkable man.

† See foot-note on p. 224.

and influence of Perrot. More than one hundred canoes, laden with the spoils of the chase, soon afterwards set out for Montreal, where a great council was held, attended by numerous savage chiefs. The old Governor harangued them, and by his demeanour afforded them much delight.* The negotiations terminated with renewed professions of amity and mutual support.

160. The New England colonies determined to retaliate upon Canada on a large scale, both by sea and land, and to accomplish the utter destruction of the French colony. The late bloody incursions into their own territory, and the known design of the French to carry into effect the plans of De Calliere, whenever circumstances should permit, had convinced the English leaders that peaceable or friendly neighbourhood was impossible. They were determined, besides, to establish and extend their commercial intercourse with the savages around the great lakes and in the west, with whom the French would never permit any such relations to subsist.

Accordingly, a force of thirteen hundred men, under General Winthrop and Major Schuyler, was equipped for a movement upon Montreal, by the route of Lake Champlain; while a fleet of upwards of thirty vessels, manned by fifteen hundred sailors, and carrying thirteen hundred militia, was dispatched from Boston, under *Sir William Phipps* and *Major Walley*. The resolution to fit out these armaments had been taken at a congress of the English

* On the occasion referred to, Frontenac is reported to have displayed all the energy and vigour of a young man, although he was then seventy years old. He joined in the savage war-dances and war-songs, gesticulating and brandishing a tomahawk to their intense delight. The assembled Indians, consisting of Iroquois of *Sault St Louis* and the *Two Mountains*, *Ottawas*, *Hurons*, *Nipissings*, *Algonquins*, *Montagnais*, &c., forgot their accustomed gravity at the sight of the spirited old man, and burst into loud acclamations.

colonies, held early in May 1690, soon after the massacres of Schenectady and Salmon Falls, and after the advance of the Quebec force into Maine, had become generally known.*

Of the proceedings of the troops under Winthrop and Schuyler, it is enough to say here that they accomplished little or nothing; for, on account of defective arrangements for supplying them with provisions and means of transport, the General retired to Albany from his march upon Canada almost as soon as he reached Lake Champlain. Schuyler advanced further, but was easily repulsed.

The delays in expediting the English forces from Boston were such that the fleet did not sail until the summer was well advanced. It was destined for the attack and capture of Quebec; but its movements were so leisurely, and its officers held so many councils of war at the various stages of its progress into the Gulf and up the St Lawrence, that October arrived before it appeared off Cape Diamond.

161. Frontenac was at Montreal when he first received news of the approach of the English fleet. Fortunately for him the incursion of the English by land had come to an end, and he was at liberty to call in for the defence of the capital almost the entire force of the colony. Fortunately also, the tardy movements of the hostile fleet, and his own energy and promptitude, concurred in enabling him to complete his preparations for a desperate resistance. He

* In retaliation for these incursions the English colonists had already, in the course of the month of April, attacked and captured various French posts on the coast of Acadia or Nova Scotia, and the vessels employed had returned laden with booty sufficient to cover the cost. At Casco Bay, where, as we have seen, the French and Indian force from Quebec and Three Rivers operated in the latter part of May, succours arrived just as the hostile bands were retiring with their captives after demolishing the defences and habitations—too late to be of any service.

immediately embarked for his headquarters. The Governor of Montreal, M. de Calliere, was directed to reinforce the garrison of Quebec at once, with all the troops, militia, and able-bodied men whom he could collect. As he passed down the St Lawrence he gave similar directions at all the minor stations, and especially at Three Rivers, where M. de Ramezay commanded. In the neighbourhood of Quebec, in the seigniories of Beaupré, Beauport, Laüzon, and Orleans, all the men able to assist in the defence of the city were ordered to remain in readiness for marching on the instant when required. Parties also were dispatched down the river to observe the fleet from the banks, and to transmit intelligence of its progress.

162. In the city itself, where the approach of the English had been known some time, and where the arrival of the gallant Governor inspired confidence and joy, M. Provost, his lieutenant, and the other French officers, had already taken measures for strengthening the defences. The gates were barricaded, and batteries of cannon mounted at all eligible points, with the aid of strong beams of timber, bags, and barrels, filled with stones and earth. As the news of the expected attack, and the orders of the Governor, reached the outlying settlements, the people poured into the place for protection, and to take an active part in the defence.

163. Sir William Phipps, in a vessel of forty-four guns, accompanied by the force under his command, at length arrived on the 16th of October 1690, and immediately, in a somewhat inflated summons, transmitted by an officer, and addressed to Count Frontenac, demanded the surrender of the city. The messenger, on landing from a boat, with his flag of truce, was blindfolded, and conducted to the Castle of St Louis. There Frontenac and his officers, and all the chief men of the colony, were assembled,

and heard the reading of the summons with a burst of indignation, the English officer having concluded with a statement to the effect that one hour only would be allowed for deliberation. The old Governor, whose anger for the moment overpowered the sense of dignity by which, on solemn public occasions; he was usually influenced, at first addressed the bearer of the summons in discourteous and menacing tones. Then, with a spirit suitable to the occasion, he rejoined that he did not recognise any other King of England than James II., the guest and ally of his master, King Louis; and that William, in whose name Phipps had demanded the surrender of Quebec, was only a usurper. He further intimated to the English officer, that, in place of an hour, he did not require an instant for deliberation. On being requested by the officer to give an answer to the summons in writing, Count Frontenac haughtily refused, saying, that he would transmit his reply to the English commander from the cannon's mouth. The messenger was reconducted to his boat, and soon after his return to the English admiral's ship, the batteries in the lower town opened fire on the fleet. One of the first discharges brought down a flag from Phipps' own vessel, which dropped into the river, and immediately several young Canadians, leaping into the water, swam out for it under fire, and conveyed it ashore.*

164. On the 18th, the troops were landed, under Major Walley, near the mouth of the St Charles river, and the ships of the squadron opened a cannonade against the city.

* This flag was preserved many years as a trophy in the parish church of Quebec. The shot by which it was brought down is said to have proceeded from a cannon pointed by *M. le Moyne de Ste Helène*, the officer who commanded in the bloody raid upon Schenectady. He was the second of the celebrated seven brothers Le Moyne, born two years before his brother D'Iberville. Ste Helène was mortally wounded two days afterwards by a shot from one of Phipps' vessels.

The garrison guns replied vigorously, and it was soon made to appear that their fire was more effective than that of the English. Observing this, Phipps drew off, but renewed the bombardment on the following day until noon, by which time he saw clearly that his hopes of success were gone, unless the troops on shore could force their way into the city and capture it by assault. Accordingly he again retired out of range with his damaged vessel.

In the meantime the troops attempted an advance through the slime and mud along the banks of the St Charles, but not before the principal cannonade between the batteries of the city and the ships had ceased. Some severe skirmishing occurred on the land. Frontenac had judiciously refrained from opposing the disembarkation of the English soldiers, conscious of his ability, from his numbers and strong position, to repel any assault. But whenever the assailants, after establishing themselves in a hastily-constructed encampment on the opposite side of the river, attempted any movement, they found themselves exposed to attacks from bodies of militia, commanded by the Le Moynes and other active French officers, stationed at different points and sheltered by the bushes and rocks. Frontenac, in person, at the head of a considerable body of troops, placed himself in a position to observe the proceedings of the skirmishers, and in readiness to cross over to the support of his own people, if it should be judged necessary. The results of these partial conflicts were generally favourable to the French militia and volunteers. From time to time vessels of the hostile fleet came within range of the land batteries and fired upon the city. These attacks continued until the night of the 20th, when it was decided, by a council of war, held on board the admiral's ship, that further attempts to capture the place would be useless, and might prove disastrous to the entire force, as the ships

were much damaged, and the situation of the troops under Walley had become critical.

Accordingly, amidst much confusion, and leaving behind them five of the six pieces of artillery which had been taken on shore, the soldiers re-embarked, and on the following day the discomfited expedition passed out of sight down the river.*

165. Frontenac dispatched a report of his victory to the court of France, where his conduct, and that of the officers and men under his command, were so highly appreciated, that the King ordered a medal to be struck in commemoration of the valiant and successful defence of Quebec. For the same purpose a new church, with the appellation of "Notre Dame de la Victoire," was erected in the Lower Town, and an annual festival established.†

* On the passage homeward to Boston the fleet encountered many disasters, occasioned by the inclemency of the weather, and the difficulties of the navigation of the river and gulf; many ships were lost. One was wrecked on the coast of Anticosti, and out of sixty men who escaped on shore, upwards of forty perished during a few weeks' forced residence on the island. Phipps himself, with the main part of his squadron, reached Boston about the end of November. His failure caused great disappointment to the inhabitants of the colonies, who had confidently expected a different result. About five years afterwards he died in England.

† We learn several interesting incidents connected with the siege in 1690 from the "History of the Ursulines of Quebec." The first news of the coming of the fleet arrived, it is stated in that work, on October 7, and occasioned extreme surprise. The place was wholly unprepared for resistance, there being in the city only two hundred male citizens able to bear arms, while the Governor and all the troops were absent at Montreal. A canoe was instantly dispatched with information to Frontenac. The Commandant, profiting by the delays which contrary winds forced upon the enemy, sent for people from the vicinity to assist in constructing defences and placing cannon. It was at first intended to send away the inmates of the convent to Lorette; but ten days elapsed before the hostile fleet came up, occupying, it is said, nearly all that time in making good a distance which, with favouring winds and resolution, could have been accomplished in as many hours. When the summons to surrender was brought, the Governor replied, "*as they deserved*," saying, "God will not favour those who are traitors to their King and their religion, and I have

166. Thus, within about a year of his return to resume the administration of the affairs of the colony, Frontenac had rescued it from its former deplorable condition without receiving any essential aid from the parent state. Moreover, the gratification experienced from the repulse of the formidable expedition which had been sent to effect the conquest of Canada, was enhanced by the receipt of intelligence from M. d'Iberville, intimating the success of operations conducted by him against the English in Hudson's Bay and on the coast of Newfoundland.*

no other answer to give than that which shall come from the mouth of my cannon." Cannon balls, discharged from the English vessels, frequently fell within the convent premises. One burst through a window shutter and sash, and finally lodged at the bedside of an inmate; another ball passed through the apron of one of the sisters; but no person belonging to the establishment was injured. Throughout the siege the premises of the Ursulines were crowded with people, and moveables brought for security. The rooms for the *externs* and the savages (Indian scholars), the boarders' quarters, refectory, and cellars, were filled with families from the city, women and children, so that the Ursulines themselves could scarcely pass to and from their kitchen, and ate their food standing and in haste, "like the Israelites when they eat the Paschal lamb."

When the siege was ended, and the English fleet a few leagues down the river, they sent back to demand an exchange of prisoners. About twenty French prisoners were returned, and the English received only sixteen, mostly children (probably of those brought in from the raids made on the New England settlements the preceding season). The religious ceremonies in honour of the victory, building of the new chapel in the lower town, the establishment of an annual fête on October 14, and the medal struck in France, are all duly chronicled by the pious women whose letters and sayings form so large a portion of the "History of the Ursulines of Quebec." After the fleet had finally departed on its perilous voyage homeward, there was intense cold, by which the St Charles was frozen over, and much ice along the margin of the St Lawrence, almost preventing the landing of supplies from vessels newly arrived from France. This was on the 15th, 16th, and 17th of November, just as the garrison and people were beginning to be threatened with famine. It was also feared that no vessel could leave for France to carry news of the victory; but suddenly a thaw came, and on the 26th, the ships departed for France with a fair wind, and bearing dispatches from Frontenac.

* See Article 172, p. 230, for some particulars of the services and exploits of this celebrated Canadian officer.

CHAPTER XXI.

CONTINUATION OF WARFARE BY THE INDIANS—SUSPICIOUS CONDUCT OF THE CONVERTED IROQUOIS—UNCHRISTIAN CONDUCT OF COLONISTS, BOTH FRENCH AND ENGLISH; WITH RESPECT TO THE INDIANS—NUMEROUS MINOR CONFLICTS BETWEEN THE FRENCH AND THE IROQUOIS—THREATENED NEW INVASION BY AN ENGLISH FLEET PREPARED FOR—ADMIRAL WHEELER'S ABORTIVE EXPEDITION—EFFECTS OF FRENCH PRIVATEERING—NICHOLAS PERROT—D'IBERVILLE—CAUSES OF QUARREL BETWEEN THE ENGLISH AND FRENCH COLONISTS — FORT FRONTENAC RE-OCCUPIED — THE IROQUOIS—FRONTENAC'S PREPARATIONS FOR A WAR OF EXTERMINATION AGAINST THE CANTONS — THE EXPEDITION AND RESULTS — INSTRUCTIONS TO THE GOVERNOR RELATIVE TO THE CONQUEST OF NEW ENGLAND—M. DE NESMOND—TREATY OF RYSWICK—CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN LORD BELLAMONT AND COUNT FRONTENAC—VIEWS OF THE IROQUOIS—DEATH AND CHARACTER OF FRONTENAC.

167. FRONTENAC would have resumed the offensive against the English during the winter of 1690–91 had it been in his power; but dearth of provisions, and its usual accompaniment, disease among the people, prevented him. The scarcity alluded to was occasioned in part by the smallness of the supplies received from France during the preceding season, but chiefly by the presence of the Iroquois, who had everywhere hindered the inhabitants from cultivating their lands.* The Abenaquis, however, continued

* In those times of necessity, the wives and daughters of the colonists rendered much assistance in the way of tilling the soil, while the men were occupied in fighting or in guarding their homesteads. This sort of work was not confined to the females of families accustomed to manual labour. In fact, there were some almost destitute families of noble descent, of whom the female members were seen holding the plough and cultivating maize. To afford some relief from this state of things, the King of France con-

their inroads; and occasionally extended their predatory attacks as far as the coast of New England in Maine and Massachusetts. In the spring of 1691 the first vessels from France brought out a supply of provisions and ammunition.

168. The Iroquois, notwithstanding some professions of reluctance to continue the war, and some show of a desire to negotiate about peace, persevered in their customary modes of harassing the French. All Frontenac's endeavours to conciliate them failed; but he had learned from experience that the safest mode of dealing with them was, while mistrusting their professions, to appear to give them some credit for sincerity, and to assume a bold front when their deputies came with threats. By means of emissaries and the missionary priests, he strove to keep alive a warlike spirit, favourable to the French, amongst the Ottawas, Illinois, Miamis, and other western tribes. The Iroquois, at one time, sent word that they would come with warriors enough to devastate the colony from Montreal to Three Rivers, and that they would give them no peace except in their graves. Accordingly, in May 1691, a numerous band established themselves in the vicinity of the confluence of the Ottawa and St Lawrence, another body attacked a settlement at *Point aux Trembles*, while a third appeared near Montreal. As usual, great cruelties were practised upon such of the inhabitants as fell into their hands.

169. Much perplexity was occasioned by the conduct of the Indians settled at Sault St Louis, and of others living amongst the French. On occasions when their aid was most required, whether to fight invaders, or to pursue a retiring band, it was observed that they were hesitating in their movements, as if afraid or unwilling. *M. Bienville,*

sented to free people in the colony of noble birth from the restrictions according to which persons of their class were forbidden to have recourse to manual labour and trade, on pain of degradation from their rank.

dispatched with two hundred of the converted or Sault St Louis Indians to drive away the Iroquois from the vicinity of Montreal, reported that his men hung back and would not fight when they approached their enemies, making a leisurely retreat. Similar conduct on several other occasions rendered the French suspicious of their allies. In fact, deputies from the cantons had been amongst the Indians of Sault St Louis; and although they did not succeed in inducing them to abandon the settlement, were not altogether unsuccessful in dissuading them from entering into combat with their own kindred, especially the Mohawks. The French officers at length came to the conclusion that there existed some secret understanding, and that in future they would be unable to rely upon the services of their converted Indians belonging to the Iroquois stock, when engaged in operations against members of the tribe from which they themselves had sprung.*

170. Throughout the years 1691 and 1692 the colonial subjects of the Kings of England and France in North America were actuated by a most embittered state of feeling against each other. This was manifested, not only by their assiduous endeavours to direct against each other the ferocious instincts of all the Indian tribes with whom, respectively, they had influence; but also by entering upon practices which have been universally condemned as disgraceful to civilised beings—not to say Christians. Both parties made the utmost possible use of the services of their acknowledged savage allies,—the English colonists on the one hand tampering with the Abenaquis, making them offers of every inducement, in the way of gifts and advantageous traffic, that could avail to tempt them from the cause of the French; the latter, on the other hand,

* Frontenac spoke of this matter to the Jesuit missionaries, who defended the Indians of Sault St Louis, alleging the suspicion to be ill-grounded.

spared no pains in efforts to gain over those barbarians from the cantons whose warriors were all the time slaughtering their people and destroying their property. But the most odious feature of this species of competition for the favour of the savages appeared when the Europeans on both sides held out rewards in money and goods for the bodies and scalps of Indians. It is recorded that the French offered premiums of fifty francs for the scalps or dead bodies of Iroquois, and one hundred francs for prisoners brought in alive.* Corresponding prices were offered in the English colonies, varying however, in amount, according as the rewards were claimed by soldiers or by volunteers. But the English paid no premiums for prisoners, although a larger reward was considered due when the scalp of an Indian was taken after hunting him like any other wild animal.†

It was quite in character with a state of things so revolting that a disregard for the life and sufferings of a savage should sometimes lead to the handing over of a living captive to be tortured to death, when it was an object to pacify or to please Indian auxiliaries.‡

* The reason which has been assigned by French writers for paying the larger price for a living than for a dead Iroquois, was that the priests and missionaries recommended this from religious motives, as there might be a chance of converting those who should be saved from massacre and made captives.

† Garneau's "History of Canada," vol. i. pp. 326, 327, amongst others, may be cited as authority for this almost incredible statement.

‡ Several instances of this criminal and atrocious deference to savage customs and tastes are on record. Charlevoix relates the case of an old man (stated by the writer *M. Boucher*, to have been one hundred years old) which has been copied into other French and also English narratives. When Count Frontenac was engaged in conducting an expedition amongst the Iroquois in 1696, he detached one of his officers to ravage the lands of the Oneidas, who all abandoned their bourgades except one aged person, who was at once handed over to the tender mercies of the auxiliary Indians. "He awaited his fate with the same intrepidity as the Roman senators

171. Frontenac could not, as he desired and intended, organise any force adequate to the invasion, on a sufficient scale, of the New England colonies, because the Government of France did not furnish a reinforcement of troops. But many bloody encounters took place in the course of

when their city was taken by the Gauls. It was a strange spectacle to behold more than four hundred men forming a circle of savage tormentors round a decrepit object from whom they could not extort a cry, and who continued, while alive, to taunt them with being the slaves of the French, of whom he spoke in contemptuous terms. He complained only at the moment when one of his butchers, on purpose to finish the scene, stabbed him repeatedly in the breast, saying that it would have been better to wait until all had done their worst, so as to see how a man ought to die."

On another occasion, at Michilimakinac, a prisoner was given to be tortured to death for the entertainment of a number of Ottawas, Hurons, and Algonquins, who had accompanied a convoy from Montreal to that place, and who had suffered much on their way thither from the attacks of marauding Iroquois.

It may be regarded as probable that in those instances when French officers ordered or permitted the perpetration of such cruel practices, there may have been some peculiar circumstances which demanded at least the severe punishment of the victims, with possibly some forms of previous trial and condemnation. Garneau mentions the burning alive of Iroquois prisoners as an exercise of the right of reprisals in retaliation for atrocities committed by the bands to which the captives had belonged.

Bell quotes from Frost's "History of the United States" the following case as an exercise of the right of reprisals by the Governor in 1691:—"Count Frontenac succeeded in capturing two Mohawk warriors, whom he *condemned to die by torture*. One of them, however, dispatched himself with a knife thrown into his prison by some Frenchman. The other, disdaining to follow the example, walked boldly up to the stake, singing, in his death-chaunt, that he was a Mohawk warrior from whom all the power of man could not extort an expression of suffering, and that it was ample consolation to him to reflect that he had inflicted upon many a Frenchman the same pangs that he must now undergo. . . . After enduring with composure for some hours a series of barbarities too atrocious to be recited, his sufferings were terminated by the intercession of a French lady, who prevailed with the Governor to order the infliction of that mortal blow to which human cruelty has given the name of *coup-de-grâce*, or stroke of favour." Assuming the accuracy of this account, we are left to infer that Frontenac not only sanctioned the terrible execution, but that he, and at least two humane and disapproving spectators, were eye-witnesses.

1691 and 1692. Early in the year last mentioned, Colonel Schuyler of New York planned an invasion, to be conducted by himself at the head of a considerable body of colonial militia and Indians, and as soon as his preparations were completed, advanced towards Canada with the intention of reaching Montreal and effecting its capture. On quitting Lake Champlain northwards, he was encountered by a band of Canadians under *M. de Cyrique*, in command of a fort at *La Prairie de la Magdeleine*, and compelled to give ground after a skirmish. Soon afterwards, he was met by another Canadian force, which had been dispatched by Frontenac from Montreal, under *M. de Varennes*, for the purpose of protecting Chambly. A pitched battle ensued, in which Schuyler was defeated, with the loss of many of his men, as well as his colours and baggage. This put an end to the movement upon Montreal, but Varennes was unable to follow the enemy on their retreat. The French losses had been considerable, and the Iroquois continued, during the whole of the winter of 1692, to maintain an active warfare. Although often defeated, fresh warriors from the cantons constantly reinforced the numerous bands of invaders. On *Lake Champlain*, on the river *Yamaska*, at *St Lambert's*, at the lake of the *Two Mountains*, at *Boucherville*, *Lake St Francis*, and also on the *Isle of Jesus*, there were sanguinary conflicts, in which the French, though victors, experienced great difficulty in maintaining their ground.

172. In the meantime, the French fleet in Europe having been defeated by the English (May 19, 1692), there was very little prospect of immediate assistance from the parent state, although it was known that the New England colonies were preparing, with the aid of a fleet from Britain, to make another formidable attempt upon Quebec by sea.

The Governor displayed wonderful activity in devising

measures for meeting this threatened attack, which it was fully expected would be made in the course of 1693. The Abenaquis were instructed to observe by means of spies, and to bring immediate information of any hostile preparations in the New England harbours. Additions were also made to the defences of Montreal and Quebec. In the latter city new redoubts were constructed, and the means of defence further improved by the completion of gateways surmounted by battlements at the two western points of exit.* The inhabitants on the lands above and below Quebec were directed, in case of an invasion, to remove their families and property, for concealment, into the recesses of the neighbouring forests, and then to dispatch their able-bodied men to the defence of the city. All these precautions and preparations turned out to be unnecessary. An English fleet, under Admiral Wheeler, did, indeed, sail with upwards of four thousand sailors and soldiers, for the purpose of first capturing *Martinique* in the West Indies, and of passing thence on its way to Quebec, to Boston, to take on board additional troops, to be furnished by the New Englanders. But, at Martinique, the attempt to capture the island ended in a repulse with heavy loss, after which an infectious disorder broke out, and carried off more than three-fourths of the soldiers and crews. Arriving at Boston the fleet communicated the disease to the citizens, of whom a large number perished. The Admiral,

* St John's and St Louis gates.

Frontenac's anxiety to defend the city from the approach of an enemy on the west—that is, from the direction of *the plains*—led to encroachments upon the property of the Ursuline convent, whose grounds, garden, orchard, and outbuildings, extended towards that quarter. In May 1693 the Governor and Intendant announced to the Ursulines that the safety of the city required the erection of defences nearer to their main building, to effect which their trees had to be cut down and outbuildings removed. The proprietors considered this a great sacrifice, entailing a loss of ten thousand francs, although they only received two thousand francs as indemnity.

therefore, discouraged by his failure in the West Indies, and unable to repair his losses at Boston, relinquished the idea of proceeding to Quebec, and returned to England. In fact, the merchants and shipowners of Massachusetts had suffered so severely from an active system of privateering kept up by French vessels, that the colonists generally began to desire peace.

When news of the fate of the abortive expedition under Wheeler reached Canada, all fears of another invasion, similar to that of 1690, immediately subsided.

171. The Iroquois also became tired of hostilities. Their inclinations in that respect were influenced by a destructive incursion into their cantons made by the French in the course of 1693. They sent several emissaries to Montreal and Quebec to negotiate a treaty, and, after some delay, a truce was agreed to in 1694.

172. It is proper in this place to make more particular mention of two persons, already referred to in these pages, who, in different spheres of action, rendered very valuable services during and after the administration of Count Frontenac.

Nicolas Perrot, a Canadian *voyageur*, trader, and diplomatist, was a man of remarkable talent and address, and eminently successful in acquiring influence among the savage tribes with whom, in Frontenac's time, the French had to deal. He belonged originally to a good French family, and being gifted with excellent natural abilities, had derived his early education from Jesuit instructors. His inclinations led him to extend his travels amongst the distant western tribes of Indians, with whose dialects, habits, and customs, he made himself familiar. When M. de la Barre, in the interval between the first and second administrations of Frontenac, had concluded his unpopular connection with the Iroquois, Perrot arrived with large bodies of Indians

from the west, whom he had induced to march in aid of the French from their remote settlements. But for Perrot's exertions and great personal influence with them, it would have been impossible to prevent these savages, irritated at the abortive result, from violating the conditions which had been just entered into.

Perrot in various directions, by his address and happy facility of ingratiating himself, prepared the way for the future establishment of French outposts amongst the Outagamis, Miamis, Illinois, and other tribes, often, however, at the risk of his life. It was he alone who prevented the Ottawas and scattered Algonquins and Hurons, in the neighbourhood of the lakes, from concluding alliances with the Iroquois, at the period when the latter almost succeeded in persuading the French allies that the French cause was ruined. He went to Frontenac with reliable information of the critical state of affairs, and gave judicious counsel, in consequence of which the Governor resorted to the only certain means of recovering ground with those wavering children of the forest. Merchandise and presents under a guard of soldiers were sent to Michilimakinac, as has been recorded in a former page, Perrot accompanying the expedition as the Governor's agent and representative. On various subsequent occasions Perrot's name occurs in connection with negotiations about alliances and attempts to establish peace amongst the Indians.* He also prepared, for the enlightenment of a subsequent Governor of the colony,† a memorial, respecting the interests of the French in the west, and was the author of a work upon "The Manners, Customs, and Religion of the North American

* On the occasion of a great council of Indians at Montreal, in 1701, when a general peace was concluded, Perrot took a prominent part as a negotiator and interpreter.

† Marquis de Vaudreuil, Governor from 1703 to 1725.

Savages," to which succeeding writers have had recourse for authority and information.

Pierre le Moyne d'Iberville also flourished during the administration of Frontenac, and was one of several brothers who greatly distinguished themselves. He was a native of Canada, born in Montreal in July 1661.* In 1675 he entered upon active employment in the colony, and soon attracted the notice of the Governor, M. de la Barre, by whom he was sent with despatches to the Court of France, and afterwards recommended for a commission in the French naval service. He served as a volunteer, under M. de Troyes, in the overland expeditions from the Saguenay to Hudson's Bay, and took part in the capture of several English forts and ships. Previously to 1690, and during the time when the prospects of the country were reduced to a very low ebb, he was constantly engaged, either at home in repelling attacks made upon the colony, or in his more congenial sphere, the naval service.†

Being appointed captain of a frigate in 1691, we find

* He was the third of the seven brothers *Le Moyne*, sons of *Charles le Moyne*, the first seignior of Longueil and Chateauguay. This Charles le Moyne, progenitor of one of the most famous French Canadian families, came from France in 1641, and then located himself with the earliest settlers on the Island of Montreal, when he acted as interpreter under M. Maisonneuve, its first Governor. Charles le Moyne rendered valuable services during the perilous times when the first Montrealers were engaged in establishing their infant settlements on the island, and was the subject of honourable mention in the reports of several of the Governors of the colony—the De Lauzons, De la Barre, and Denonville. His reputation, however, was over-shadowed by the greater celebrity of his sons. He retired to his native country in 1691.

† In the last-named year, 1690, he served in Hudson's Bay, and gained many successes, of which he was bringing news to the Governor when he learned that the force under Phipps was then occupied in besieging Quebec. He therefore passed at once to France, sending up his despatches in a canoe. These reached Frontenac on the day after the retirement of the English fleet.

him, in succeeding years, engaged in conducting a brilliant series of attacks upon the forts and ships of the English in Hudson's Bay, Newfoundland, and on the coast of the mainland of North America. Some of the naval exploits recorded as having been performed by him would be regarded as incredible unless supported by the most reliable testimony.* He was undoubtedly the principal naval hero produced by New France. After a great many other exploits not immediately connected, in their effects, with Canada, the great merit of D'Iberville induced the French Government to place him in command of a force of thirteen ships of war and three smaller vessels, destined for the conquest of Jamaica.†

Some letters and reports by D'Iberville, addressed to the French minister *M. de Portchartrain*, have been preserved at Paris, amongst which may be mentioned, "A Memoir on the Position of Boston, New York, &c., with a Project for Attacking and Ruining them, 1701."

173. The truce referred to in article 171 was not only of short duration, but was also very indifferently observed;

* These, taken from earlier writers, may be found fully detailed in several modern works and histories, including those of Garneau, Ferland, Guérin ("Les Navigateurs Français"), and others. Of D'Iberville's victories in 1696, we read as follows:—"In July 1696 D'Iberville arrived before the English *Fort Nelson* in his ship of fifty guns named the *Pelican*, being separated from two other vessels under his command. There were three English vessels in the offing, viz., the *Hampshire* of fifty-six guns, the *Dehring* of thirty-six guns, and the *Hudson's Bay* of thirty-two. D'Iberville, without waiting for his consorts to come up, faced them all, sunk the *Hampshire*, captured the *Hudson's Bay*, and compelled the *Dehring* to seek safety by sheering off! He then approached Fort Nelson, which surrendered after a short bombardment. This victory placed the French in possession of all the stations of the English in Hudson's Bay.

† This was in 1704. The expedition against Jamaica failed, for the alleged reason that the English there were found to be *on their guard*.

D'Iberville had previously established several forts near the mouths of the Mississippi, the design of colonising Louisiana having been revived, and, amongst these, that of *Mobile*. He died at sea in 1706.

if indeed it can be said to have been other than a mere negotiation, which led only to some mitigation of the atrocities mutually perpetrated by the Indian allies of the colonists. The intrigues of both parties continued without interruption. The French, by means of their missionaries, and of chiefs under Frontenac's influence, lost no opportunity of conciliating the Iroquois, while the latter tampered with their kindred at Sault St Louis, and the English both with Iroquois and the Abenaquis. The standing causes of quarrel between the French and English, apart from the fact that the parent countries were at war with each other, embraced the rival claims respecting sovereignty over the territory and people of the cantons, together with the constant endeavours of the English to push their trading operations amongst the Western Indians, who were professedly under French protection. Added to these must be named the uncertain and opposite ideas entertained about their respective rights to the occupation of Acadia (Nova Scotia). Again, on the part of the Iroquois there was the objection they entertained to the re-establishment of the fort at Cataraconi (Frontenac), which, as was well known to them, was a cherished purpose of the Governor. This latter design Frontenac determined to accomplish in 1695, in spite of the hostility of the Iroquois and the expressed wishes of the Government of France. The Count had been informed of the King's disapproval after the force required for repairing and re-occupying the fort had been dispatched.* Under *M. de Chrisasy* as

* The force consisted of thirty-six officers, four hundred soldiers and Canadian militia, with two hundred savages. Frontenac, in reply to the injunctions of *M. Portchartrain*, the French minister, stated that he meditated, in future, and in place of such expeditions against the cantons as had previously been conducted by De Denonville, which accomplished no permanent good, to keep up such a continued series of tormenting attacks as should make them afraid to come out of their quarters. To effect this,

commandant, the old fort was repaired, and restored to a position to hold out against assault, in the course of fifteen days. A garrison of forty-eight soldiers re-occupied the place, and small parties of Indians were sent across the lake to observe and harass the inhabitants of the cantons. *Colonel Fletcher*, who was then Governor of New York, had held a congress of deputies of *New Jersey*, *Massachusetts*, and *Connecticut*, for the purpose of conferring with the Iroquois chiefs on the subject of the rebuilding of Fort Frontenac. At this meeting the Iroquois were enjoined not to permit that, as it would destroy their liberty, and make them slaves to the French, and were further informed that, in case of need, all the troops of the English colonies should be marched to their support. The Iroquois subsequently had a council of chiefs of the cantons to discuss the same question, when, with some slight objection on the part of the Onondagas, and a portion of the Senecas, an agreement was entered into not to sanction the rebuilding of the fort, and to invite all the Indian allies of the French to join in the decision.

In the meantime Frontenac had resolved upon accomplishing his purpose, and soon afterwards, as described above, succeeded in doing so without molestation. Colonel Fletcher was much irritated when he learned that Fort Frontenac had been secretly and promptly re-established, and severely reproached the Iroquois for their supineness, advising them to invest and capture the place, and distributing supplies of ammunition.

174. The Iroquois prosecuted the war, in their customary way, with renewed vigour, but suffered reverses in their attacks upon the Island of Montreal, as well as in the

and to retain the traffic of the Western Indians, he explained that the maintenance of the fortified position at Cataraconi was indispensably necessary.

West upon the Miamis and Illinois. At the same time they continued to secretly entice the allies of the French at Sault St Marie, and the Hurons, Ottawas, and Algonquins. With the last-named tribes they had such success that Frontenac's worst fears were realised, since he knew that it was in the power of the English colonists to offer, through the Iroquois, more advantageous opportunities of traffic than the French could afford. Under these circumstances, he determined upon a grand expedition into the cantons, and desired his agents to solicit the co-operation of all the Indian allies. The Ottawas and Hurons, however, under various pretexts, refused to send their warriors to his assistance.

175. In the course of the spring of 1696, the Governor caused preparations to be made for a decisive campaign. During the preceding eighty years which had elapsed since the French colonists formed their first acquaintance with those truculent adversaries, any peace or prosperity which the colony had enjoyed seemed to depend, for the most part, upon their having occasionally refrained from persecuting the inhabitants with incursions, and from exercising their atrocious instincts in the destruction of life and property. For eighteen years after De Tracy's great expedition into the cantons, the state of comparative repose from those incursions and persecutions had been attended with an amount of progress which showed that permanent peace with the Iroquois, or their conquest and extermination, were the only real alternatives to be pursued by a wise governor. But all the arts of conciliation used by successive governors, aided by all the religious influence which priests and missionaries could employ, had failed to gain them over as friends. Nor had the severe chastisements inflicted when the French visited them in their own quarters, served to deter them from resuming their old courses

of behaviour. The preservation of peace and good neighbourhood was further obstructed by their geographical position upon the borders of territory claimed by the rival colonies of France and England; and, further, by the complications arising out of the extension of the French outposts amongst distant tribes of Indians, with whom the Iroquois might choose to wage an aggressive warfare, or the straggling English traders seek to carry on traffic. And, lastly, the people of the Iroquois confederacy, sensible of the value of their support to either party at the times when the European colonists quarrelled, whether on their own account or on that of their respective mother countries—also loving their independence—were not slow to pursue their own interests at the expense of both. Their main reason for siding generally with the English was not so much founded upon a greater love for them, as it was upon their finding themselves able to obtain from their traders more bullets and powder, and especially more ardent spirits, in exchange for the products of the chase, than they could from the French.

Of late years the conduct of the Iroquois towards the French colony had become absolutely intolerable, and would have ruined it, but for the vigorous ability of Count Frontenac.

Now, as has been already indicated, the Governor prepared to strike a deadly blow at the heart of the confederacy, and it will appear from the following narrative that, had he only persevered in his resolution to the end, and finished the campaign after the same fashion as he began it, he might have annihilated the power of the Iroquois to inflict future injury upon the colony.

The preparations for an expedition of the kind contemplated could not be made without much sacrifice, because they occupied the season of spring, and took off nearly the

whole adult male population from the care of sowing, planting, and cultivating the soil.

176. Assigning *Isle Perrot*, on Lake St Louis, as the place of rendezvous, Frontenac ordered all the Canadian militia, the Hurons from Lorette, the Abenaquis from the Chaudiere, and the eight hundred regular soldiers then in Canada, to proceed thither. Provisions and means of transport for ammunition and all other necessary supplies were to be provided, so that a completely equipped force, numbering upwards of two thousand three hundred men, might be ready to commence active operations in the field early in the month of July. The militia were rather more numerous than the regular soldiers, and the Indian auxiliaries amounted to more than six hundred warriors. M. de Calliere, Governor of Montreal, M. de Ramezay, commandant at Three Rivers, and M. de Vaudreuil, commanded, respectively, the three corps into which the army was divided. Frontenac himself, although seventy-six years old, accompanied the expedition as commander-in-chief.*

Preceded by two large *batteaux*, and a number of canoes, carrying a couple of field-pieces and provisions, the army left Isle Perrot on July 7, and arrived at Cataraconi on the 19th. Thence they crossed Lake Ontario, and landed at the mouth of the river *Chouagen*—now *Oswego*, near to the spot where the modern city of that name stands. The advance towards the cantons was conducted with the greatest regularity and precision, one half of the force, under Calliere and Ramezay, following the route of the south bank of the river, and the other, under Frontenac and Vaudreuil, that of the north. On reaching a small stream, through which the water of Lake Oneida empties itself into the Oswego, the two divisions reunited and

* The Indian auxiliaries were commanded by *De Maricour*, a younger brother of D'Iberville, and one of the celebrated Canadian family *Le Moyne*.

marched towards the nearest canton, which was that of the Onondagas. On the march the customary difficulties of moving through a wild and marshy country were encountered. The aged Governor was carried in a chair, and De Calliere, almost as infirm as his chief, rode on the only horse which accompanied the expedition. Although a whole month had elapsed since they started from Isle Perrot, no traces of an enemy were met with, excepting a rude diagram sketched upon a sheet of birch bark, depicting, according to the Indian fashion, the French army, with two bundles of twigs, bound together, and intended to notify the invaders that a force of more than fourteen hundred warriors was ready to receive them. But, whether from policy, or in reliance upon their supposed fidelity, of which they had afforded some previous proofs, two prisoners, formerly taken by the French from the Senecas, were sent forward as spies, and to bring back information. These two men availed themselves of the opportunity to escape, but were more useful to their former masters than if they had returned to them with news of their enemies. They rejoined their own people, but carried with them such an exaggerated account of the French force, and of their means of destruction, that the Iroquois were afraid to risk the chances of a conflict, and resolved, after burning their habitations, to withdraw into the recesses of the forest. Accordingly, towards the evening of the day following the flight of their two prisoners, the French beheld in the distance the smoke and flames of the bourgade of the Onondagas. It had contained a fort which the English had instructed them in building. When the French arrived at the scene of the conflagration, they found the village and fort entirely consumed. There were also, lying around, the remains of some French captives who had been killed and mangled on the approach of their country-

men. No living inhabitant was found except one very aged man.*

All that could now be done, in regard to the former inhabitants of that bourgade, was to follow the example of former invasions, and destroy all the surrounding crops, with every article of property which the flames had spared. The work of destruction was soon completed.

Frontenac, judging by past experience, considered it useless to pursue the enemy into the forest. But to enumerate all the reasons which Frontenac and his officers discussed relative to their further proceedings, and the best way of punishing an enemy who hid himself in place of fighting, and to describe in detail what was actually done, would be a mere repetition of what had occurred on several previous occasions, as in the expeditions of De Tracy, Courcelle, and Denonville. A detachment, under Vaudreuil, was sent to the Oneida canton, where there remained thirty or forty chiefs, expecting the return of a messenger whom they had sent to Frontenac to solicit peace, and that their property might be spared. Vaudreuil told them that "if they would accompany the French to Montreal they would not need their cabins, and that, as for their crops, they could not carry them along with them; so that it was better they should be all burnt, to prevent an enemy from taking possession." After the execution of the purpose indicated in that reply, Vaudreuil rejoined his chief at Onondaga, bringing with him thirty-five Oneida prisoners.

* This was the victim of the tragic scene recorded in the note on page 224. Contrary to the narrative of the writer there quoted, Ferland says, that the Indian auxiliaries, irritated at finding no enemy to fight, were impelled by a desire to satisfy their vengeance upon some unfortunate victim. Frontenac is represented as having questioned him, and endeavoured to induce him to flee, but that the Indians haughtily claimed him as their own prisoner. It is added, that "such was their fury that he did not dare to refuse to deliver him up to them!"

At a council of war the Count and his officers decided that the village of the Cayugas should be dealt with in the same manner as those of the Onondagas and Oneidas. It was even agreed that forts should be built in the three cantons, and that Calliere, with a sufficient force, should pass the ensuing winter there, and prevent re-occupation by their former inhabitants. But a few hours afterwards the Governor announced that he had changed his mind, and gave orders for an immediate retreat to Montreal. The officers and men were greatly surprised, and urgent representations were made in favour of at least sending a detachment to chastise the Cayugas. But the old Governor, with characteristic obstinacy, adhered to his last decision, entirely regardless of the discontent and murmurs of nearly all under his command. Leaving Onondaga on the 9th of August, the force reached Montreal after a march of eleven days. Only four men were lost by the French during this expedition, of whom three perished in one of the numerous rapids on their way homeward.

177. The immediate consequences of the great expedition conducted by Frontenac against the Iroquois in 1696 were, in the first place, amongst the people of the cantons, famine and distress, which, as a scarcity in the English colonies hindered them from obtaining aid from their allies, soon impelled them to resume negotiations for peace. Secondly, the French colonists themselves, during the ensuing winter, suffered extremely for want of sufficient food, on account of having been compelled, the preceding year, while preparing for the expedition, to neglect the cultivation of their lands. Owing to this scarcity of provisions, which made it difficult to maintain troops in garrison, it was impossible for the Governor to execute his design of continually harassing the Iroquois and the English colonists, by sending forth armed parties against them.

178. The years 1697 and 1698 were passed in fruitless negotiations with the Iroquois deputies, and mutual recriminations between the authorities of the English and French colonies. The latter claimed the right of treating separately with the Iroquois. The former insisted that no treaty of peace between these and the French could be valid, unless ratified, and, in fact, negotiated by themselves, as the territory and people of the cantons were asserted to be under the sovereignty of England.

Although the Iroquois continued hostilities, the several lines of approach by which they had been accustomed to make their attacks were now better guarded, and atrocities were less easily committed and less frequent. They also continued their inroads upon the Miamis and Illinois.

In the latter part of 1696, and the spring of 1697, the Governor received instructions to hold in readiness all the disposable forces of the colony, in order to co-operate in a design by the French Government, the object of which was the capture of the whole of the English colonies. The successes of D'Iberville, and the execution done upon colonial and English commerce, had strengthened the impression at the court of France that the time had now arrived when the schemes formerly urged upon its attention by Calliere and others could be successfully carried out. A French fleet under the command of the *Marquis de Nesmond,* was actually sent out, and entered into some operations on the Acadian coast. It was intended to effect the reduction of Boston and New York, and to leave there fifteen hundred troops transported from Canada, by whom the whole of the English colony was to be ravaged. The expedition, however, failed to execute even the preliminary parts of the plan laid down. Frontenac, in the course of September 1697, received information of that result.

179. Soon afterwards a treaty of peace was concluded in

Europe, and signed at Ryswick, in virtue of which hostilities between France and England in America were brought to a close.*

180. In May 1698, *Lord Bellamont*, then Governor of New York and Massachusetts, sent Colonel Schuyler, with nineteen French prisoners and a courteous letter, to Count Frontenac, informing the latter of the conclusion of peace, and that Colonel Fletcher had been recalled. The English Governor also offered in his letter to restore all the French prisoners detained in the hands of the Iroquois. In an equally courteous reply, Count Frontenac promised to restore all English prisoners; but, with respect to the Iroquois, claimed the right of dealing with these directly, and not through the intervention of Lord Bellamont. The Count asserted in his letter that the cantons had been subject to the government of the kings of France before the English had even come into possession of New York.

The Iroquois themselves maintained that they were subjects neither of France nor of England, and that they were not bound by any treaty which those two nations might choose to enter into. Under such circumstances, the state of war continued to subsist between them and the French. The people of the cantons were, however, very anxious to be included under the provisions of the general treaty.

Soon after the opening of the correspondence between

* To the treaty styled "*The Treaty of Ryswick*" four European powers were parties. Its provisions embraced, almost exclusively, matters of European interest. There was, however, one clause providing for the restoration of forts, places, territories, &c., captured in America. The important question of boundaries between the English and French possessions in North America was omitted in the treaty. But a supplementary or separate understanding was entered into, having in view the appointment of commissioners to settle that question.

the New England and Canadian Governors, the Iroquois addressed themselves to both parties, in order that they also might participate in the terms of peace. Lord Bellamont required that the prisoners in their hands should be delivered up to him at Albany, preparatory to their restoration to Frontenac. The latter refused to receive them in that manner, and menaced the cantons with force. In consequence, some further correspondence took place between the two Governors, of a less courteous character than the former. Bellamont charged Frontenac with continuing to encourage the perpetration of barbarities upon subjects of Great Britain, and declared that, if force should be employed against the Iroquois, he would march to their assistance with every man at his disposal. To this Frontenac made a spirited answer, stating that he adhered to his former resolution; that the Iroquois did not desire to be under the English; and that the threats of assistance to the Five Nations, being contrary to the treaty of peace, caused him no apprehension.

The truth is, the astute chiefs of the cantons simply desired the intervention of the New England authorities with the view of enabling them to obtain the best possible terms of accommodation from the French, repudiating the sovereignty of both parties, and careful not to admit that by any formal act of their own.

Count Frontenac did not live to see the end of this controversy.

181. On the 28th of November 1698, Count Frontenac breathed his last at Quebec, after an illness of a few days' duration. He was in his seventy-eighth year, and retained the use of his faculties up to the moment of his decease. His character is thus summarily described by Charlevoix: "He died as he had lived, regarded with affection by many,

esteemed by all; and with the glory of having, with scarcely any aid from France, sustained, and even augmented, the colony, although he found it, at his arrival, exposed to attacks from all sides, and reduced to the brink of ruin." The same historian thus qualifies his judgment upon the excellence of the Count's attributes: "It was difficult to reconcile with his profession of piety his conduct towards those from whom he differed. His disposition was rendered less excellent by a sour temper, and by a species of unworthy jealousy, which he never laid aside, and which hindered him from the full enjoyment of his success. But, for all this, New France owed everything to him, and after his death, the great void which he left became soon apparent."

The remains of the deceased Count were interred in the Church of the Recollets, at Quebec.* Although the Recollet Order was favoured by him during his administration, he was not always on good terms with the Bishop and regular clergy.† As he was inclined to indulge in acrimonious feelings towards those who differed from him in sentiments or policy, he had some enemies and detractors. But, in the face of his general popularity, his success, and

* Frontenac left directions in his will relative to his burial in the Church of the Recollets, in which, subsequently, the remains of several succeeding Governors were interred. He had granted to that Order of ecclesiastics the lot of land on which their house was built, besides otherwise contributing to their establishment in the city, and professed to be a sort of trustee in their behalf, as well as a protector.

† Some time before his death he was embroiled in dissensions with the Bishop and clergy. To manifest his dissatisfaction, he resorted to means calculated to lessen them in the eyes of the people. He caused actors and actresses, and male and female dancers, to exhibit comedies in mockery of the ecclesiastics. This was done not only in the Castle of St Louis, but even in the religious houses, whose inmates were ordered to be present as spectators: much scandal was thus occasioned.

his undoubted devotion to his King and country, complaints had failed to produce his recall a second time.

The student of Canadian history will be justified in regarding Count Frontenac, notwithstanding some conspicuous blemishes of disposition, as the greatest of the governors who ruled in Canada, from the time of the death of Champlain down to the period when it ceased to be a Province of France.

CHAPTER XXII.

M. DE CALLIERE, GOVERNOR — HIS POLICY A CONTINUATION OF FRONTENAC'S—AIMS AT A GENERAL PACIFICATION OF THE INDIAN TRIBES—MODE OF PROCEDURE TO BRING ABOUT PEACE—GREAT GATHERING OF INDIANS AT MONTREAL—DEATH OF KONDIARONK—RENEWAL OF WAR BETWEEN ENGLAND AND FRANCE—PREPARATIONS FOR DEFENCE OF THE COLONY—DEATH OF CALLIERE—STATE OF THE COUNTRY.

182. The experience and military talents of De Calliere had enabled him already, as the adviser and coadjutor of his predecessors, to render valuable services to the colony. Succeeding now to the governorship, he adhered to Frontenac's policy, refusing the intervention of the English colonial Governor in regard to exchanging prisoners with the Iroquois.

In order to accomplish the proposed exchange satisfactorily, he deemed it necessary, not only to repudiate the claim of English sovereignty over the cantons, but also to include in the negotiations the numerous tribes of Indians with whom, whether as allies or foes, the French and the Iroquois had been concerned. The Iroquois held many

persons in captivity besides Frenchmen, and many captives belonging to the cantons were kept in slavery amongst the Ottawas, Hurons, Algonquins, and the western tribes. In short, De Calliere desired to bring about a general and comprehensive treaty of peace, which should include the restoration of prisoners in the hands of all parties.

In conjunction with this object the Governor aimed at uniting the Indian tribes against the English colonists; and, as respected the Iroquois, at least to so far conciliate them as that in any future contest the fierce people of the cantons should remain neutral.

The greater part of the administration of De Calliere was occupied in endeavours to carry out those designs.

183. In response to the wishes expressed by deputies from the Iroquois, the Governor sent a French deputation, consisting of a priest, M. Bruyas, with *M. de Maricourt* and M. Joncaire,* to accompany them to the cantons. Great councils were held in the Onondaga canton, the result of which was that the Iroquois chiefs, exclusive of the Mohawks and Oneidas, agreed to surrender their French captives, and to side with neither party in any future warfare between the English and French colonists. The astute barbarians understood well that their co-operation was an important object to both, and determined to assert their own independence. They therefore signified to Lord Bellamont's agent the terms they had come to with the French. A.D. 1700.

It was also agreed to accept the French Governor's in-

* *Bruyas* was well known, and much esteemed in the cantons. *Maricourt* was one of the famous *Le Moynes*, being a younger brother of D'Iberville. Joncaire was a favourite with the Senecas, who had formerly taken him captive, but, on account of his brave resistance, adopted him into their tribe.

vitation to attend a great council of all the nations, which he proposed should be held in August 1701, at Montreal. The ambassadors, Messrs Bruyas, De Maricourt, and Joncaire, were allowed to search for the captive French, and to take away with them as many as were willing to go.*

184. The Governor also sent emissaries to the west, amongst the Hurons, and Algonquins of the lake regions, the Ottawas, Miamis, Illinois, and Reynards, to persuade them to keep peace among themselves, and with the Iroquois, and to come next season to Montreal to negotiate a general treaty. The influence of Nicolas Perrot was of great service in disposing the tribes to listen to the Governor's exhortations and request. *M. de Tonti*, a former coadjutor of La Salle, was sent to Michillimakinac, to bring back the French who had taken up their quarters there, and who amounted to more than one hundred persons.† A missionary and *M. de Courtmanché* were employed in soliciting the chiefs of the western tribes to cease from warfare, and to bring all their Iroquois prisoners to the proposed meeting at Montreal.

185. In the meantime, the agents of the New England colonies were engaged in endeavours to counteract the influence of the French among the cantons, but with no great success. A severe law against Jesuit priests entering the New England territory was declared to be valid in the cantons as well as other parts. Lord Bellamont also offered

* Many refused to return, having been adopted into Indian families, and preferring Indian modes of life. Only ten captives went back with the French deputation.

† Of these, more than eighty refused to return; and, rather than wait for compulsion to obey the Governor's orders, they retired farther off towards the banks of the Mississippi, preferring to spend their lives among the savage tribes.

to send amongst them artisans, provided the Iroquois would at the same time receive a minister of religion.* Upon the whole, the sagacity of the French Governor, ably supported by the skill and dexterity of his agents, exercised a greater influence amongst them than all the endeavours and threats of the English. This result was owing, in part, to a step taken by Calliere in order to show the Iroquois that the English colonists would neither attack the cantons themselves, nor interfere for their protection, if the French were to do so. For it happened that the sovereigns of England and France had sent out instructions to their respective colonial Governors expressly forbidding them to engage in any hostilities. Calliere, to whom a copy of the instructions given to the English Governor had been forwarded, caused the particulars to be communicated to the Iroquois, who at once said, that, if they continued to carry on war with the French, they would have to act alone, and without any aid from their English allies.

A species of preliminary treaty was accordingly entered into at Montreal, on September 18, 1700, reserving for the great meeting of the following year the conclusion of a convention by all the tribes, with a general exchange of prisoners. This provisional treaty was adopted, with all the customary formalities, by the Iroquois deputies, on the one hand, and by the Hurons, Ottawas, Abenaquis, Algonquins, and Christian Iroquois of Sault St Louis and Two Mountains, on the other. The Governor-General, the Intendant, M. Vaudreuil the Governor of Montreal, and the chief ecclesiastics of the colony, signed

* The Iroquois were indifferent about the minister, but were very anxious for the artisans, especially *smiths*. The priest Bruyas reported of the Iroquois that they were then, as formerly, not disposed to receive the faith.

the compact with the Iroquois deputies. The latter, before leaving, requested that Messrs Bruyas, Maricourt, and Joncaire should be allowed to return home with them, in order to gather the remaining French prisoners in the cantons. This demand was complied with.*

186. While the plans of the Governor were being thus furthered through his emissaries in the cantons and amongst the western tribes, some uneasiness was occasioned by a resolution which he had come to of establishing a fortified post at *Detroit*. Already the importance of that at Frontenac, where *M. Louvigny* was commandant, was sensibly felt by the Iroquois, and their concern was increased when they learned that another fort was to be established at a point from which it would be easy for the French to check their movements upon the Miamis and their other enemies in the west. The Iroquois remonstrated on the subject, incited by the English, to whose traders such a design was most unwelcome. But Calliere told them that his object was to enable him the more easily to keep peace amongst the tribes, and also to exclude the English from trading in these regions.

The fort was eventually constructed, and occupied by a garrison of about one hundred men. In a short time bodies of Indians came to establish themselves in its vicinity, both for protection, and for the purpose of traffic.

187. Some untoward incidents in the autumn of 1700 prevented Calliere from being entirely satisfied with his position and prospects. In consequence of the arrangements for peace which have been stated, the Iroquois

* Five more French from among the Onondagas, and some others from the Senecas, were recovered on this second visit of the deputation.

hunted freely on the north shore of Lake Ontario, where they intruded upon the chosen haunts and beaver-dams of their old enemies the Ottawas. This led to disputes and quarrels, sometimes ending in bloodshed, so that the Governor had cause for apprehension lest his plans might yet miscarry.

Another occasion of disquietude grew out of the very small and bad harvest of the year 1700. Before winter set in there was a general scarcity, which ended in famine. The inhabitants had recourse to wild roots, and suffered all the pangs of starvation. In Montreal, Three Rivers, and Quebec, as well as in the garrisons and settlements occupied by the Indians, much distress prevailed.

188. Meanwhile, during the winter and in course of the spring of the year 1701, the endeavours of the French agents to induce the Indian chiefs to abstain from hostile acts against each others' tribes, and to agree to attend the great council at Montreal, were successful beyond all expectation. But as the time approached for embarking with their prisoners for the purpose of descending the St Lawrence, great difficulties were experienced in dealing with the numerous and discordant elements thus being brought together. At any time some petty cause might have kindled strife amongst them; besides which, maladies broke out, causing numbers to turn back.* A.D. 1701.

At length, however, towards the close of July 1701, seven or eight hundred savages from the west arrived in their canoes at Montreal. Upwards of two hundred Iroquois had come on the previous day. Including the Abenaquis, converted Iroquois, Hurons, Algonquins, and Montagnais, belonging to the colony, or inhabiting con-

* The principal part of the work of reconciling differences as they arose, and of conducting the hordes down to Montreal, devolved on Courtmanche.

tiguous territories, the whole number amounted to about fifteen hundred.

Nine or ten days were occupied by the conferences which took place. The principal meeting was opened on the 1st day of August, and it was the 4th of that month before all the various matters concerned could be discussed and agreed upon, with a view to concluding a solemn treaty. On that last day the Governor, attended by M. Vaudreuil and his principal military officers and functionaries, harangued the motley assemblage with the aid of interpreters. He ended his discourse by saying that the time had now arrived for all parties to "*bury the war hatchet*," and that he in future would be their umpire for settling their differences, punishing aggressors, and compensating the injured.

The chiefs, representing the various tribes, spoke in succession, and signified their assent to the Governor's wishes. Some of them were clad in strange habiliments, and presented appearances so grotesque as to excite the merriment of spectators. Captives were handed over, and *wampum* collars given as tokens.*

Amongst those who came to attend the great gathering were Nicolas Perrot, who acted as interpreter to the Miamis and Illinois, and the famous chief *Kondiaronk*, the most remarkable Indian there. Kondiaronk made an eloquent address, but, during its delivery, was seized with a mortal sickness, of which he died in the ensuing night. This man has been much eulogised by Charlevoix and

* These *wampum collars*, or *belts*, made up of strings of porcelain beads connected together, were employed as visible tokens of good wishes, or sincerity regarding professions on particular points. They were also used by speakers, both in soliciting favours and in expressing thanks for favours granted. In a certain degree, the importance of the occasion was indicated by the number of belts, or their size and richness.

other writers, who have styled him "*an Indian only in name.*"*

189. The Mohawks, for some reason which does not appear, were not in attendance at the council. Their deputies arrived afterwards, offered excuses, and signed the treaty.

A short time after the general peace had been concluded, the Iroquois of the Onondaga tribe dispatched deputies to the Governor to request that priests might be sent amongst them. Calliere not only acceded to their wish, but informed them that at Frontenac there would be smiths and armourers to do work for them, and abundance of merchandise for traffic. As has been already stated, there was not at that time much real desire for, or willingness to receive, religious *teaching* among the Iroquois tribes. But the politic Governor took advantage of every opportunity of thwarting the projects of the English, and undermining their influence with those double-faced barbarians.

190. Calliere had to a great extent accomplished his designs for pacifying the Indian tribes, conciliating the Iroquois, and intercepting traffic between A.D. 1703. the English colonists and the lake regions, when war again broke out between England and France. The old projects of invading and capturing each other's colonial possessions were at once revived, and the French Governor set about preparations for defending the colony and its principal stations. In answer to some proposals for recommencing raids upon the English colonists, Calliere refused his consent, on the ground that the results of such operations would only stimulate the New Englanders to greater efforts

* Not long afterwards, in the Onondaga canton, the death of another famous Indian chief occurred—that of *Garaconthié*, a great friend and favourite of the French.

in favour of plans for the invasion and subjugation of Canada, with the assistance of a fleet from England.

191. At this critical juncture, the gallant old Governor was suddenly laid on his death-bed. He closed a life of long-continued and faithful service to his King and country on the 26th of May 1703.

192. During the administration of M. Calliere, the colony had not actually lost ground in ability to hold its own against the causes which had hindered its progress or threatened its existence. Its advancement, however, was very small, for no additions by immigration from France had been made to the number of the colonists. Including the regular troops and marine, there were scarcely four thousand persons able to bear arms—that is, between the ages of sixteen and sixty. Agriculture and commerce existed only for the supply of the military wants of the country. Manufactures, respecting which such favourable predictions had been made in the days of Talon and De Tracy, were wholly neglected. Only from twenty-five to thirty ships came each season to Quebec from Europe, bringing necessary supplies and merchandise for traffic, and returning half-laden with furs and other products of the chase. In fact, Canada, at that time, was in no sense a flourishing transatlantic possession. It was only a military colony or outpost of the kingdom of France—the theatre, it is true, of many isolated feats of heroism and of self-denying devotion on the part of military officers and ecclesiastics, but poor and backward in comparison with the English colonies, and its substantial interests slighted or disregarded by the parent state.* Henceforward, during

* In these allusions to poverty and backwardness, it must be understood that reference is made to the inhabitants generally, and to the state officials. The religious orders and ecclesiastics were becoming comparatively

the period of sixty years which elapsed between the death of Calliere and the cession of the country to Great Britain, scarcely any effort whatever was made in France to increase its strength and wealth by means of emigration. It has been computed that not more than eight or nine thousand persons, of the class entitled to be called emigrants or settlers, were transported from France to Canada during the whole period of their connection. Some time before the period of which we now write, and always afterwards, it is probable that Canada was not much thought of or talked about by French-men and women at home. To them, perhaps, the severity of its climate and the ferocity of its Indians were better known than other features calculated to attract Europeans to it as a country for settling in—a country which one of their most influential writers, fifty years later, sarcastically defined as "a few acres of ice."

wealthy, and enjoyed great influence. The state officials, on the contrary, were so miserably remunerated, in the way of stipends, for their services, that unless they availed themselves of opportunities of compensating themselves by means of traffic, or unless they had private resources, which was not usual, they had not enough to live upon decently. Also, when a seignior or man of property died, his estate was divided amongst his children, so that, in the course of time, his descendants would become impoverished, although of noble birth. Those who served in the militia received only clothing and provisions, but no pay. They could derive little or nothing from the cultivation of the soil, as they were constantly, from year to year, called upon for military service. It is little to be wondered at if, under such circumstances, many left the service of the colony and went to live among the savages.

De Calliere, who, by his good sense, honourable conduct, and chivalrous courage, had acquired great personal influence both among his own people and with the Indians, wisely preserved a good understanding with the religious orders. Nevertheless, deeming it incompatible with the general welfare that their wealth should increase indefinitely, he procured an edict from the crown to limit their acquisition of property, whether by purchase or by gift of private individuals, to a certain fixed amount.

CHAPTER XXIII.

M. DE VAUDREUIL, GOVERNOR—HIS CHARACTER AND ADMINISTRATION—CHIEF INCIDENTS—SUCCEEDED BY THE MARQUIS DE BEAUHARNOIS—STATE AND RESOURCES OF THE COLONY UNDER THE TWO PRECEDING GOVERNORS—BRIEF ADMINISTRATIONS OF LA GALISONIERE, LA JONQUIERE, AND THE MARQUIS DUQUESNE—CONDITION AND RELATIVE RESOURCES OF CANADA AND THE NEW ENGLAND COLONIES—ACCESSION OF THE SECOND MARQUIS DE VAUDREUIL—STATE OF THE COUNTRY—ITS PRINCIPAL STATIONS AND OUTPOSTS—THE CHIEF OFFICIALS OF THE COLONY—COMMENCEMENT OF THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR.

193. THE death of M. de Calliere rendered it necessary for M. de Vaudreuil, Commandant at Montreal, to preside over the affairs of the colony until the King should appoint a new Governor-General. De Vaudreuil was very popular, and was considered by the colonists to be the person best qualified to fill the vacant post. He had been the friend and coadjutor, not only of the late Governor, but also of the lamented Frontenac. To secure his permanent appointment, all the principal inhabitants joined in a petition to the King, the prayer of which his Majesty was pleased to grant, and a commission to that effect was signed at Paris on August 1, 1703.

At the same time the Royal Intendant, M. de Champigny, was replaced by *M. Beauharnois.*

194. As the two mother countries were now at war,*

* "A strong alliance was entered into by England, Holland, and the Empire, in 1701. Hensius, the first magistrate of Holland, and two illustrious generals, Prince Eugene for Austria, and the Duke of Marlborough

the colonists, as formerly, soon found themselves animated by mutually hostile feelings. The customary process of intriguing with each other's Indian allies was had recourse to. The New Englanders, on their part, endeavoured to detach the Abenaquis from the French cause, and to incite the Iroquois to resume their incursions into Canada. But in this they did not succeed, for the Abenaquis, encouraged by the French, ravaged the English territory, while the Iroquois, so far from taking up arms against their ancient enemies, even sent deputies to Vaudreuil, offering formally to recognise the King of France as sovereign over the cantons.*

The result was that the English colonists, during the continuance of the war, from 1703 to 1713, suffered severely from the frequent incursions of the Abenaquis and the French volunteers. Also, the Indian tribes in the west became gradually involved in the contest, especially the Ottawas, Hurons, Miamis, Illinois, and the Outagamis, or *Fox* tribe.

To revenge themselves upon the Abenaquis, the English entered their country in force, and massacred all whom they could reach. In return, the French, to assist their allies, sent a party under M. de Rouville, who fell upon a place called *Deerfield*, on the river Connecticut, in the night-time, and the fearful scenes of Schenectady and Salmon Falls were again enacted. The town was burnt, about fifty

for England, were the soul of this formidable coalition. Louis XIV. had no longer Colbert and Louvois, Turenne, Condé, or Luxembourg. However, the French army at first gained some advantages; but from the year 1704, they sustained one defeat after another."—*Porchal's History of France.*

* These overtures were begun by the Onondagas. The Senecas, through the great influence of Joncaire, if not positively friendly towards the French, were at least prevented from acting as enemies. The other three Iroquois tribes remained, for a time, strictly neutral.

persons slaughtered without resistance, and upwards of one hundred prisoners carried off. Subsequently another raid was effected against the town of *Haverill*, but with the difference that the attack was, in this instance, made in open daylight, and there were about fifty soldiers present, aiding the inhabitants in their fruitless resistance.

These bloody incursions were disapproved of by the authorities in France, who reminded M. Vaudreuil that De Calliere had set his face against such operations, as they were calculated to create in the English colonists a determination to plan the entire destruction of the French colony, and to employ all means to induce the Iroquois to support them. The French Minister, in his dispatch on the subject, remarked, "the French have always been the first to commence hostilities in Canada."

These anticipations proved to be correct, for in 1709 the people of New England, in conjunction with the Government at home, made preparations on a large scale for annihilating the French power in Newfoundland, Acadia, and Canada. Already, in 1707, a formidable sea and land force had moved against *Port Royal* (*Annapolis*), and two attempts had been made to capture the place, which were with difficulty repelled.

195. But now, in 1709, information reached Quebec that several British regiments were to be sent from England, to unite with a force raised in Massachusetts and Rhode Island, for an attack upon that city, while another army, levied in New York and the other colonies, was to advance by the way of Lake Champlain. It happened, when all was ready, that the destination of the troops about to sail from England was altered. But the movement from New York was actually commenced. A considerable number of English colonists,

A.D. 1709.

along with a large body of Iroquois, advanced towards Lake Champlain, with the intention of first capturing Fort Chambly, and then of falling upon Montreal. Vaudreuil dispatched the Governor of Montreal, M. de Ramezay, with seven hundred and fifty Canadians and regulars, supported by Abenaquis warriors and Indians from Sault St Louis, to oppose the invaders. A singular cause interfered at the same time with the operations of both armies. The Sault St Louis Indians, after proceeding a certain distance, refused to march farther, alleging that it was much better for the French to remain on the defensive in their own advanced posts, than to risk making an attack upon the enemy, who could intrench himself within reach of reinforcements from Albany and Schenectady. In consequence, a council of war was held, and a resolution come to, of retreating to Montreal. Meanwhile, the Iroquois auxiliaries of the English force under General Nicholson were engaged in manœuvres calculated to mislead him and his officers, and to induce them to abandon the expedition when they were just about to embark in the boats which were to transport them across the lake towards Canada. It is said that these treacherous allies poisoned the water used by the troops, and caused the death of many soldiers. The result was that the English troops, as well as those under De Ramezay, were at the same time in full retreat towards their respective homes. The only rational explanation which has been suggested of the conduct of the Iroquois on both sides is, that the converted Iroquois, and their countrymen of the cantons, were bound to each other by some secret understanding, in virtue of which they were to co-operate in preventing either of the European colonies from conquering the other, and thus to hold in their own hand the destinies of both. Suspicious conduct on the part

of the Iroquois of Sault St Louis has been noticed in a former page.*

196. In the following year a naval force from Boston, with the assistance of four colonial regiments, effected the capture of *Port Royal*, in Acadia, on the 6th of October. The French garrison capitulated, and the name of the place was changed to *Annapolis*, in honour of the reigning Queen of England.

197. It has been already stated that the strength and resources of the colony were small in comparison with those of New England. The latter were now able to furnish for war about sixty thousand men, between the ages of sixteen and sixty, while the total number of males in the French colony able to bear arms, including about six hundred regulars, amounted to little over five thousand.

A.D. 1711.

At the same time the English colonists carried on a large commerce by sea, which enabled them to equip considerable squadrons for the transport of troops, and the conduct of naval operations.

In 1710, General Nicholson went to England for the purpose of urging the Government to resume their scheme for conquering Canada, and the other French possessions in North America. His application was supported by a petition of the New York legislature, which deputed Colonel Schuyler to present the address.† In consequence, a power-

* See art. 169, p. 222.

† The appeal to Her Majesty set forth that, "The French penetrate all the country behind your Majesty's plantations, among numerous tribes of Indians; they send agents and priests with toys and trifles, next traders, then soldiers, and, finally, build forts among them." Schuyler took with him five Iroquois chiefs, who had an audience of the Queen. These stated that the warriors of the Five Nations were willing to assist in the conquest of Canada. The Queen's ministry agreed upon a plan of campaign, acceding to the requests of the colonists.

ful fleet of war vessels and transports, conveying five regiments of troops, was dispatched to Boston, in the summer of 1711. In the end of July this armament sailed for the St Lawrence, to effect the capture of Quebec. At the same time a land force under General Nicholson began its march northwards, destined for the attack of Montreal.

M. de Vaudreuil imitated the conduct of his predecessors on similar occasions. The defences of Quebec were improved as much as possible. All the force of the colony was summoned to repel the expected invasion. A body of three thousand Canadians and Indians was stationed at Chambly to oppose General Nicholson's army. Emissaries also were dispatched to ascertain the intentions of the Iroquois, who brought back word that the Senecas and Onondagas would remain neutral, and that the other three tribes would side with the English. These measures having been adopted, the Governor calmly awaited the approach of the invaders.

The weather and the difficulties of the navigation of the St Lawrence proved to be the colony's most efficient auxiliaries, since they caused the hostile expedition to miscarry. Arriving in the St Lawrence about the middle of August, the fleet under Admiral Walker was obstructed in its movements by a thick fog, followed by strong winds. Several ships were wrecked, and upwards of eight hundred men drowned. Then it was discovered that there were provisions sufficient for only ten weeks. And, finally, a council of war was held, when it was determined to abandon the enterprise and return home.

General Nicholson, on his march towards Lake Champlain, received tidings of the disasters which had befallen the fleet, and prudently decided upon a retreat.

Thus were the inhabitants of Canada spared from con-

tending for their existence with forces far superior to any that had ever been brought against them.

198. About this period fresh troubles were occasioned in the west amongst the Indian tribes, by which the safety of the post at Detroit was endangered. The utmost efforts of the French in that quarter were required to be exerted, before they and their allies would put an end to the peril which menaced them. In the result, the Indians of the *Fox* tribe, or *Outagamis*, who were alleged to have been incited against them by the English, were almost exterminated.

199. The course of events in Europe proved humiliating to the court of France, and the enormous expenses of the war ruinous to the nation, so that the French were forced to accept peace on unfavourable terms. The spirit of the King had been broken by the reverses of the nation abroad, complaints and suffering at home amongst his own people, and by domestic afflictions.* Negotiations for peace had been commenced in January 1712, but the contending parties did not finally settle upon the terms until March 1713, when the plenipotentiaries of Spain and France, on one side, and of England, Holland, Prussia, the German states, Savoy and Denmark, on the other, signed a treaty at *Utrecht*.

200. By the "*Treaty of Utrecht*," France ceded to Great

* "The people were perishing of misery and starvation; the King, who had lavished the resources of the country on magnificent display, was now obliged to overwhelm his miserable subjects with taxation. The allies, abusing their superiority, affected to demand impossible conditions. They even required him to dethrone his grandson. Louis XIV. felt himself humbled; he had also afflictions in his family; he saw the death of his only son in 1711, and in 1712 that of his grandson, the Duke of Burgundy, a young prince of great promise, the presumptive heir of the crown."—*Porchat's History of France.*

Britain all her claims to the posts and territories in and adjoining to Hudson's Bay, as well as Newfoundland and Nova Scotia, retaining certain privileges in respect of the fisheries. A.D. 1713.

It was also stipulated that the American subjects of King Louis should abstain from molesting the Iroquois, and all other Indian subjects or allies of the English.

The important question of *boundaries* was left still undecided.*

201. The Iroquois nations, as had been the case after they were informed, in 1698, of the peace concluded by the Treaty of Ryswick, vehemently protested that they and their territory were not subject to any of the conditions agreed to by those who were parties to the Treaty of Utrecht. In short, they claimed, as heretofore, that the lands they occupied were their own, and that they were subjects neither of France nor of England.

About this time their numerical strength was augmented by the accession of the *Tuscaroras*, a warlike tribe of the Carolinas, which had been driven from its hunting-grounds by the English colonists. The Iroquois received them into their confederacy, which henceforward came to be styled that of the "Six Nations."

The Iroquois had learned, from declarations made by the English, that they were considered as belonging to the crown of England, upon which they applied to Vaudreuil

* It has been suggested by some writers that this omission was allowed to occur as if on purpose, that England and France might at any future time resort to disputes about American boundaries as convenient pretexts for going to war.

It is more probable that the true causes were indifference about matters which more immediately affected the interests of remote colonists; and, on the part of the plenipotentiaries of England and France, ignorance of the localities.

for explanation, who informed them that they were not even mentioned in the Treaty of Utrecht. Their desire evidently was now to be considered as at peace with the colonists of both European nations; and on many occasions they acted as if they thought it rested with themselves to preserve in North America the balance of power.

202. In the year 1714 Governor Vaudreuil went to France on leave of absence, and remained there till 1716, leaving M. de Ramezay to preside over the affairs of the colony till his return.*

203. About this time the attention of the French Government was more particularly attracted to *Cape Breton* or *Isle Royale*, separated from Acadia or Nova Scotia by the Strait of *Canseau*. The fisheries on its coasts were very productive, and it possessed numerous inlets suitable for harbours. The loss of Nova Scotia with Port Royal, and its occupation by the English colonists, whose ships were now in great numbers engaged in exporting fish from those coasts to the West Indies, Spain, the Mediterranean, and other parts of the world, caused the French to attach more importance than before to Cape Breton. One object held in view was, to establish a convenient harbour of refuge,

* M. Vaudreuil had spent most of his life in Canada. His wife, who was an Acadian by birth, had gone on a visit to France five years before. The vessel in which she sailed was captured on the passage by an English ship. Madame Vaudreuil, however, was very kindly treated by her captors, who landed her safely in France. This lady has been made the subject of commendation by several French writers. She was one of the few Governors' wives who came to or resided in the colony. After her return with her husband in 1716, it seems that her presence was of great advantage to him, even in respect of his public cares; for *Ferland*, in a quotation relative to the Governor's differences with the Intendant *Begon*, says "Madame de Vaudreuil was '*l'homme de la famille*,' and after his return she sustained her husband in his doubts and perplexities."

This lady, after Vaudreuil's decease in 1725, retired to France.

not only for war vessels and merchantmen coming from France, but also for privateers, which had already, in war time, been found so serviceable in damaging British commerce.

The harbour of *Louisbourg* was selected, as best fitted, from its position and natural advantages, to be converted into a first-class naval station. The entrance from the sea was less than a quarter of a mile, while it had a circuit of nearly twelve miles. The anchorage was excellent, it had a depth of about forty feet, and ships could be run ashore on the soft beach without danger. Works were commenced some years afterwards, consisting of piers, magazines, and fortifications, under the direction of engineers from France. In course of time Louisbourg, next after Quebec, became the strongest fortified seaport in America.*

The French at the same time took some steps for settling *Isle St Jean (Prince Edward's Island)*.

204. In September 1715 the death of Louis XIV. occurred. He had been King of France more than seventy years, his reign extending backwards almost to the days of Champlain. Under the auspices, therefore, of this one sovereign, no less than fourteen out of the sixteen different Governors, whose administrations have been recorded in this history, ruled in Canada. His ideas and wishes, modified and practically directed by a succession of able advisers, had accordingly shaped the destinies of the colony. It cannot be alleged that this King, although so arbitrary, had been altogether indifferent about the welfare of his colonial subjects. But, pre-occupied by great undertakings at home,

* In about twenty years the French Government is said to have expended thirty million francs in fortifying Louisbourg. It will be seen that powerful fleets and armies were fitted out by the English Government and colonists to reduce it in 1745 and 1758.

which involved a vast waste of life and money, and seeking above all things to maintain his title of "Louis the Great" in the eyes of the princes of Europe, he never felt at liberty to concern himself much in behalf of the substantial interests of Canada. When he did turn his attention that way, it was nearly always either to rectify some unhappy result of his own despotic system of government, or to cause every interest within the colony to be strictly subservient to what he conceived to be the interest of France herself. In the most critical times of danger, when the colony was on the point of sinking, the great King of France never felt able to spare one or two thousand soldiers for service in Canada, out of the hundreds of thousands whom he sent to shed their blood in all parts of Europe. Not only was the commerce of Canada, during his reign, regulated with an exclusive regard to the good of the mother country, but, until towards the end of his career, the poor colonists were not allowed to make the best market they could for themselves, nor to manufacture necessary articles for their own use, for fear of injuring trade at home.* Under the Intendants *Talon* and *Hoquart*

* The French Canadian hunters and Indians were strictly forbidden to sell furs to foreigners, as were also the fur companies, who were authorised by law to exact or keep back from the sellers a certain part—usually *one fourth*—of the stated value. This stated value was only about *one half* the actual value. The purchase of commodities not of French manufacture or origin was also prohibited. To evade these regulations it became a practice with young French Canadians to go off on hunting and trading expeditions amongst the Indians of the lake regions in the north-west, and to the country west and south of Michigan, whence they would carry their furs to Albany and New York, for the sake of the higher prices obtainable in New England. Returning, they would bring in articles of English or Dutch manufacture. To check this, a law existed in virtue of which the agents of the fur companies could go with an officer of justice and search for such articles in people's houses, even in those of the religious orders and ecclesiastics.

some mitigation of the strictness of the law in these respects was obtained. A terrible state of necessity, also, did sometimes compel a departure from the strict regulations laid down.*

Yet, in general, so far as commerce in Canada was concerned during the reign of Louis XIV., any which existed, apart from government supervision and control, was carried on, as it were, by stealth, and in violation of the laws. All the products of the country which the Indians or the French inhabitants brought to market, had prices fixed, not by those who sold, but by the Intendant or the chartered companies who bought. And when we read that any given quantity of peltry, or of grain, fish, or hides, was exported in any year, we are not entitled to draw any inference relative to the well-doing of the colonists themselves, who were wholly at the mercy of those companies and of government officials.

The alleged reason was to prevent the *hatters* of Paris being ruined by competition.

The companies sometimes had much larger quantities of beaver-skins than were required for consumption in France, which took only about 150,000 francs' worth a year. Yet they were not allowed to dispose of the goods to the English or foreign merchants, in consequence of which any surplus remaining on their hands had to be destroyed.

* In the autumn of 1705 the customary annual supply of linen and other French fabrics was lost through the wreck of one of the King's ships on its way out from Rochelle, said to have on board a cargo worth a million francs. In consequence, the people of the colony were put to very great inconvenience, having to supply the deficiency, as far as possible, by cutting up their curtains and bed-clothes, &c., for clothing. In this emergency *Madame Repentigny* signalised herself by discovering ways of turning to account the fibre of *nettle* and of *bark* of trees. This lady was much praised for that in a letter written by the Governor and Intendant, who thus expressed themselves—"The public have derived great advantage from the manufacture of Madame Repentigny, who has made from the bark of trees *heavy or coarse blankets*, from fibre of *nettle, coarse cloth like linen*, and from the wool of sheep, a *species of drugget*—the which is a great succour to the poor inhabitants."

In fact, such was the corrupt system under both Louis XIV. and Louis XV., and so slenderly were all the state officers in the colonies remunerated for their services, that the latter, from the Governor downwards, found it often absolutely necessary to supplement their incomes by participating in the gains derivable from the traffic in furs and in liquors sold to the savages. A great many accusations to this effect are on record, previously to the times of which we write, affecting the highest functionaries of the colony and the commandants at the different military posts.*

Louis XIV., whether for good or evil in the interest of the colony, countenanced the authorities both in France and in Canada, in their determination to exclude those who were not members of the Roman Catholic Church. It was assumed that the Huguenots, or Protestants, would not be good subjects when abroad, and that fellow-colonists differing in faith would not get on well together. Experi-

* Even the chivalrous Frontenac, who was poor, and the Intendants of his time, were accused of profiting by the abuse of the liquor laws, and likewise M. Perrot, Governor of Montreal.

In 1708, a commissioner, who had been sent out by the French Minister to inspect all the posts, reported that "M. de Vaudreuil concerned himself in traffic and permitted *eau de vie* to be brought to Montreal for the use of the savages," also that "he sent much merchandise to Michillimakinac." Similar charges were brought against Captain de Louvigny and M. de la Motte Cadillac, Commandant at Detroit. The salaries of high public functionaries were then, indeed, less than respectable clerks would now receive.

In regard to the above accusations against Governor Vaudreuil, it does not appear that the Minister, to whom the report was made, was particularly struck or disgusted, for on the margin of this report he made a note in words importing, "M. de Vaudreuil is poor—that is the great misfortune."

Abuses of this sort, however, were as nothing in comparison with the corruption which prevailed forty years later amongst many of the colonial functionaries, and which aided materially in the destruction of French power in America.

ence under a *régime* of greater freedom than prevailed in his day has happily disproved the ancient doctrine, since Protestants and Roman Catholics are found to dwell harmoniously together, when participating equally in the enjoyment of free institutions. But Louis, far from being tolerant towards the ministers of religion, and determined to rule a people professing only one faith, thought and acted upon other principles.*

The Canadian colonists, who only heard of the King of France through their head officials, soldiers, bishops, and priests, and the Indians, who styled him "*the Great Onon-thio*," were trained to regard Louis as the most exalted of human beings. On a small scale, several of the Governors —especially De Tracy and Frontenac—affected to exhibit, in the Castle of St Louis at Quebec, the style and manners of the monarch in Versailles. Such conduct was undoubtedly that which Louis himself deemed the most proper; for on one occasion, when reproving Count Frontenac for his irritability regarding small matters of controversy with the Bishop and the Intendant, the King desired him to be above considering such trifles, reminding him that he enjoyed "the high honour of being his representative."

* "But the greatest mistake of Louis XIV. was the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685. Not remembering that the Protestants had placed his grandfather, Henry IV., on the throne, or considering that they were now only peaceable, industrious, and obedient subjects, Louis XIV. revoked the edict given in their favour by Henry IV. Despotic in his temper, he would have every Frenchman worship God in the same way as himself. And yet what a fatal example of immorality did this royal reformer set before his people! The Protestants who remained faithful to their creed were cruelly persecuted. Protestants were forbidden to leave the country. Nevertheless more than five thousand families took to flight, and carried their industry into foreign countries, which they enriched. A great number of those who were unable to escape were condemned to the galleys, or perished on the rack or by other tortures."—*Porchat's History of France.*

It is worthy of remark that every one of King Louis's nominees to the governorship of Canada, while endeavouring to maintain a sort of colonial court as a representative of royalty, and to impress upon the minds of the colonists and natives the greatness of his master through displays of pomp on all public occasions, was yet, happily for the colony he came to govern, irreproachable in life and morals—and so far a striking contrast was exhibited to the personal character of the monarch. For Louis XIV., great in regard to his schemes and his undertakings, great in his victories as well as reverses, and rendering France great by calling to his aid the services of men renowned in the field, the cabinet, and in literature, was also conspicuously great in his personal vices. It must be admitted that Louis's chief concern about the colony during his long reign was manifested respecting two objects, namely—First, to maintain the supremacy of royal authority over every concern or interest that could possibly arise;* and, secondly, to carry out the idea, instilled into his mind by his mother, that it was his destiny to establish the faith amongst the savages and idolaters of North America.

He died on 1st September 1715, in the seventy-seventh year of his age, after a reign of seventy-two years.†

* The authorities in Canada were prohibited from imposing taxes upon the people for any purpose whatever, unless expressly authorised to do so by the King. Again, in 1663, when the colony became a royal government, the King raised objections to the designation "*Sovereign* Council," as, in some sense, calculated to infringe upon his prerogatives.

† "When Louis XIV. saw his end approaching, he had his successor brought before him, and said to him, 'My child, you are going to be king of a great kingdom: do not imitate me in my taste for building, neither in that I have had for war. Try, on the contrary, to keep peace with your neighbours, follow good counsels, and relieve your people as soon as you can, which I am so unfortunate as to be unable to do.'"—*Porchat's History of France.*

205. After Governor Vaudreuil's return from France in 1716, the colony continued to make progress in population and the improvement of its resources. His administration continued nine years longer, up to the year 1725.

In the interval, he kept up the same kind of intercourse with the Indians as before, always vigilantly prosecuting amongst the tribes, in all directions, and by means of the commandants of posts and the missionaries, what were conceived to be French interests in opposition to the English. His attention was also directed to the strengthening of the means of defence at Quebec, where the old and imperfect walls were falling into decay. The work was taken up in earnest in the year 1720, according to plans proposed by *M. de Lery*, the engineer. For the defence of Montreal, likewise, the ancient wooden structures being almost useless, directions were sent out by the court* to replace these by a low stone wall, with bastions and outlets, extending all round the city. This was not commenced until 1722. The expense, estimated at three hundred thousand francs, was advanced by the French Government, one half to be repaid by the Sulpician Seminary and the inhabitants together. At the time when these works were commenced the population of Quebec was reckoned at seven thousand, and that of Montreal at three thousand.

Other internal improvements and changes were set on foot, relating to the construction of roads, the adjustment of boundaries of parishes, matters of police and finance, and the modes of rendering official reports concerning

* Such public works as fortifications for principal places, as those at Louisbourg, Quebec, Montreal, &c., were under the sole jurisdiction of the authorities in France, and were only undertaken under express orders sent out to the colonial officers.

public business. It was a time of peace, when such improvements could be attended to uninterruptedly. Although the occasional outbursts and complicated subjects of quarrel among the restless western tribes required French intervention from time to time, yet most of the ancient causes of retardation being absent, the colony made considerable progress during Vaudreuil's governorship. Before its close the population had reached to about twenty-five thousand souls.

206. Some of the other improvements and changes introduced, as stated in the preceding article, merit more particular mention in this place.

During upwards of thirty years previous to 1718, articles of commerce were commonly bought and paid for by means of *billets* or *cartes*, having expressed on their faces the sums for which they were good, dates, stamps, and signatures of high officials. There were also arrangements to prevent merchants from obtaining bills of exchange, payable in France, without the use of these billets. They circulated, therefore, as coin, and no other money was seen or accumulated in the colony. They were replaced by new ones from the treasury, when the old ones were defaced or worn out.

Towards 1714 or 1715, owing to financial difficulties in France, bills of exchange were not promptly honoured there. The billets began to be of less than their nominal value. The merchants of Quebec then offered to give double the stated amount of billets for bills of exchange, provided the authorities in Paris would undertake to pay them when presented. The proposal was accepted by the court, but finally, towards 1718, the circulation of coin was resumed.*

* Upwards of one million of francs' worth of these billets was cancelled by burning the papers, their use being prohibited. Some evils, however,

With respect to official reports, although, in France, everything was done in the name of the King, yet, during his minority, the country was ruled by a regency, under the *Duke of Orleans.* By it the affairs of the colonies were intrusted to the charge of the Council of Marine, presided over by the *Count of Thoulouse.* The Marine Council directed that, in future, different subjects of report should never be included in the same letter. Again, in the reports from the colonies, those of subaltern officers engaged in the public service were accustomed to be addressed to the Secretary of State. It was now provided that, in place of the former practice, all reports should reach the Marine Council through the superior officers. Thus, military officers were to report to the Governor; officers of justice, police, and finance, to the Intendant; and, finally, these head functionaries reported direct to the Minister in France.

207. About the same time the whole business of commerce in Canada began to merge in a single great corporation, called the "*Indian Company.*"* This Company, which, to the immense injury of the country, subsequently included several of the leading functionaries of the colony, soon acquired a predominating influence. Its affairs were governed by directors in Paris. Its agents in Canada gave receipts for furs and other products purchased from the inhabitants, which receipts were afterwards taken in return

proceeded from the change, because more money went out of the country than the King sent in to pay the various charges for which he was liable, which caused a scarcity of coin.

The billets used to be of the nominal values of thirty-two, sixteen, and four livres, forty sous, and twenty sous respectively.

* Several companies had undertaken to carry on business in Canada with exclusive privileges—such as the sole right to import certain articles; but most of these either failed or discontinued operations, as they were prohibited from sending or selling peltry to foreigners, while many colonists evaded the prohibition.

for bills of exchange, payable in Paris during the first four months of the following year. In the meantime the receipts constituted a species of money, as they would be accepted at the magazines in payment of merchandise and necessaries. The Company imported and sold to the inhabitants all the merchandise, luxuries, and necessaries consumed in the colony. Its agents at the magazines dealt with the Indians and colonists, returning receipts, or furnishing necessaries, in exchange for the furs, grain, fish, oils, hides, and other products forming the articles of traffic. Annually the Company's agents exported those products to France. Every season from one hundred and fifty to two hundred canoes, from the country of the Ottawas, loaded with peltry, would come down to Montreal for traffic. In a few days the business would be concluded, and the Company's agents in possession of from three hundred thousand to four hundred thousand francs' worth of furs and other spoils of the chase. On a smaller scale the same process was carried on at Three Rivers, as the point most convenient of access to the St Francis and St Maurice districts.

Montreal, however, became the great mart, and was visited, at least, once or twice a year by great numbers who came from distant parts to procure all kinds of necessaries at the magazines.

208. The useful and comparatively prosperous administration of M. de Vaudreuil was brought to an end by his death at Quebec on October 10, 1725.

He was much and universally regretted, having preserved to the end of his life the popularity by means of which alone he had been promoted to his high office.*

* Although not born in Canada, he had lived so long there as to be virtually a Canadian. This circumstance, and the fact that his connections by marriage were *colonial*, are said to have been used as arguments at

209. During the period from 1713 up to 1744, Canada enjoyed the longest peace she had ever known. Her old enemies the Iroquois had discontinued their harassing incursions, and the relations subsisting between the mother countries prevented the jealousies and petty causes of difference between the English and French colonies from leading to actual hostilities.

M. de Beauharnois, who succeeded Vaudreuil, pursued a policy similar to that of his predecessor, vigilantly watching over the internal interests of the country, while he kept constantly in view any movements on the part of the English and of the Indian tribes by which the safety or the future welfare of Canada might be affected.

The French colony, therefore, made much progress during that long interval of peace, and the population advanced to fifty thousand. Of its internal condition a fair opinion may be formed from the statements of the historian *Charlevoix*, who visited Canada in 1720, and, after spending some time in making personal observations, recorded what he saw and thought. He described the country above Montreal as wholly unsettled by Europeans, excepting several insignificant fortified posts and *blockhouses*—as at *Frontenac*, *Niagara*, *Detroit*, *Michillimakinac*, and other trading stations in the west.

Charlevoix's remarks respecting the state of the people of the colony were based chiefly upon his observations in and near the city of Quebec. He says, "There are not more than seven thousand souls at Quebec; but one finds nothing but what is select, and calculated to form an agreeable society. A Governor-General, with his staff of

court against his nomination as Governor. The only other *Canadian* who filled the office was his son, who succeeded Duquesne, thirty years after the death of the first Marquis Vaudreuil.

high-born officers, and his troops; an Intendant, with a superior council and inferior courts; a commissary of marine, grand provost, grand voyer, and a superintendent of waters and forests, whose jurisdiction is certainly the most extensive in the world; merchants, in easy circumstances, or at least living as if they were; a Bishop and a numerous seminary, Recollets and Jesuits, three female religious communities, well established; other circles elsewhere, as brilliant as those surrounding the Governor and the Intendant. On the whole, it seems to me there are, for all classes of persons, means of passing the time agreeably. Every one contributes to his utmost. People amuse themselves with games and excursions, using *calèches* in summer, sledges and skates in winter. There is a great deal of hunting, for many gentlefolks have no other resource for living in comfort. Current news relate to only a few topics, as the country does not furnish many. The news from Europe comes all at once, and occupies a great part of the year, furnishing subjects of conversation relative to the past and future. Science and the arts have their turn.

"The Canadians breathe from their birth the air of liberty, which renders them very agreeable in social intercourse. Nowhere else is our language spoken in greater purity. One observes here no defective accent.

"There are here no rich people, every one is hospitable, and nobody amuses himself in making money. If a person cannot afford to entertain friends at table, he at least endeavours to dress well.

"The best blood of our country is here in both sexes. There is a general love of pleasure and amusement, with polished manners, and a total absence of *rusticity*, whether in language or habits, throughout the country. It is not the same, they say, with our neighbours, the English colon-

ists; and those who do not know the colonies, except by their daily habits, actions, and language, would not hesitate to say that ours is the more flourishing. In fact, there prevails in New England an opulence which the people seem not to know how to use; and in New France a poverty which is concealed under an unstudied air of ease. New England is supported by the culture of the plantations, New France by the industry of its inhabitants. The English colonist amasses well, and incurs no superfluous expense; the French enjoys that which he has, and sometimes makes a parade of that which he does not possess. The former works for his heirs; the latter leaves for his descendants the same state of necessity which was his own lot, to escape from it as they best can. The Anglo-Americans do not desire war, because they have much to lose; nor do they meddle much with the savages, because they do not think they require them. On the contrary, the French youth detest a state of peace, and like to dwell among the natives, whose admiration they gain in war, and their friendship at all times."*

210. The administration of M. de Beauharnois began in 1726, and ended in 1747.† Its earlier portion was occupied in endeavours, both by negotiations and menaces, to deter the English colonists from encroaching upon Canada. Beauharnois did not, however, succeed in hin-

* The description of the Canadians and their manners, here quoted from Charlevoix, accords with that of Professor Kalm's, derived from personal observations made by the latter about a quarter of a century later.

† In the interval between the death of Vaudreuil, in 1725, and the arrival of Beauharnois, in 1726, the Baron de Longueil, a *Canadian* Governor of Montreal, presided over the affairs of the colony. Pleading as precedents the cases of Calliere and Vaudreuil, he solicited for himself the succession to the office of Governor-General, but had not interest enough at court to support his claim. Beauharnois was a brother of the former Intendant of that name.

dering them from constructing a fort and magazines at *Chouagen* (*Oswego*), on the south shore of Lake Ontario. The English had recourse to this undertaking for the purpose of encouraging and protecting traffic with the Indians from the north-west, and to neutralise as much as possible the advantages the French derived from their stations at Frontenac and Niagara. The French Governor regarded the building of Fort Chouagen, and its occupation, as a hostile intrusion, but, in a time of peace between the mother countries, was obliged to content himself with protesting against it. He contended that the English colonists, conformably to the Treaty of Utrecht, were bound to confine themselves within the limits of the *Alleghanies*, as their western boundary. But instead of that, they now advanced their posts as far as Lake Ontario, and their traders penetrated into the valley of the Ohio, in spite of the French Governor's prohibitions, and his orders to seize and confiscate the property of all intruders.

Similar encroachments were complained of in the direction of Nova Scotia and Cape Breton. The French Government, in the meantime, prosecuted the works at Louisbourg.

211. Beauharnois encouraged the prosecution of discovery westwards, in the regions of the Upper Missouri, and those lying between Lakes *Superior* and *Winnipeg* and the Rocky Mountains. For this purpose he employed an intrepid officer, named *Varrenne de la Varendrye*, who occupied about fifteen years in conducting those explorations. Before his time nothing was known of the territory between California on the south, and Hudson's Bay on the north. M. Varendrye was the first to make known the existence of the Rocky Mountains.

About 1740, the state of affairs in Europe betokened

the probable resumption of hostilities between France and England. The latter power had already declared war against Spain. France, inclining to the views of Spain, was desirous, nevertheless, of abstaining from another conflict with Great Britain. But the course of events proved highly unfavourable to the Spanish, whose commerce in the West was being injured, and that of the English augmented. The court of France began to apprehend that England would acquire all the colonies of Spain. To compel England to make peace with Spain, the French court resolved to take sides with the latter. At the same time encouragement was given to the disaffected subjects of Great Britain, who, in Scotland and in Ireland, were conspiring to restore the exiled Stuart family to the throne. Other sources of dispute, consequent upon the death of the Emperor Charles VI., presented themselves in Europe.

At length, in 1744, France declared war, and the American colonies were speedily involved in the conflict which ensued. Before the English colonists became aware of the precise state of affairs in Europe, a force from Louisbourg surprised and captured a small English garrison situated on the Strait of Canseau. In consequence, the New Englanders immediately took up arms; and, on learning that France and England were now at war, made preparations for co-operating in the reduction of Louisbourg. A fleet and land force of four thousand men, consisting of New England militia, artisans, and field-labourers, were equipped and dispatched on this important enterprise, the command of which was confided to a merchant named Pepperell. He was directed to make his approaches in the night-time, and carry the place by surprise.

212. Had Louisbourg been well defended, under capable commanders, supported by experienced and well-disposed

soldiers, it is not likely that the Anglo-American expedition would have succeeded. There were a hundred cannon on the ramparts, besides two batteries of thirty pieces each commanding the harbour, and a garrison of about fifteen hundred men. But the troops were in a state of mutiny at the time, owing to alleged ill treatment. Nor were the commanding officers possessed of the abilities demanded by the occasion.*

The consequence was, notwithstanding the undisciplined nature of the besieging force, commanded by a civilian, that Louisbourg was surrendered by capitulation after an inefficient resistance.† The capture of Louisbourg was a source of great annoyance at the court of France, while upon the English it conferred great advantages, since the latter came into possession of an important maritime stronghold, extremely useful to them in their plans for intercepting the communications between France and Canada, and for preying upon French commerce.

213. The French Government made several attempts to recover possession of Louisbourg. Eleven ships of the line, with transports, and three thousand soldiers, were dispatched in 1746 under *M. d'Anville,* to co-operate with a body of troops from Canada under M. de Ramezay, for the purpose of retaking Cape Breton. The undertaking proved a failure owing to adverse weather, and the breaking out of an epidemic in the fleet while on the coast near *Chebuctou,*

* The Intendant of the place was *M. Bigot,* afterwards so notoriously concerned in the mal-administration of the affairs of Canada. The Commandant was *M. Duchambon.*

† The success of the besiegers was mainly owing to the circumstances stated. There were, however, present four English ships of war belonging to Admiral Warren's fleet, without whose co-operation the ill-directed valour of the New England militiamen could scarcely have brought about the successful result.

which not only carried off two thousand four hundred men, and their commander, D'Anville, but also proved destructive to large numbers of French Canadians and Abenaquis who had come down to the coast to join in the attack upon Louisbourg.

Another strong force, under Admiral *de la Jonquiere,* left France in the spring of 1747 on the same errand.* It consisted of six ships of the line, and thirty transports loaded with troops and supplies. It had no better fate than the unfortunate expedition of D'Anville. Admirals Warren and Anson, in command of an English fleet, fell in with De la Jonquiere's squadron at sea. All the French war vessels, and a large part of the convoy, were captured on the 3d of May 1747. The French Admiral was released on his parole not to serve against England during the continuance of the war.

In the meantime some minor operations occurred at *Port Royal, Beaubassin,* and some other points in Acadia.

214. *M. de Beauharnois* had been recalled from the governorship of Canada in 1746. When his appointed successor became a prisoner to the English, the French Government named M. de la Galissoniere to discharge the functions of Governor until the Admiral should be set free to take his place.

215. One of the last public acts of M. Beauharnois was to resume hostilities against the Mohawks, who had openly laid aside their disguised neutrality, and recommenced their ancient practices against the French colonists. He also pushed forward the improvements in the fortifications at Quebec, which had been from time to time prosecuted

* De la Jonquiere had been appointed Governor of Canada, to succeed M. de Beauharnois, and was to retake Louisbourg on his way out to his post.

since the year 1720. M. Beauharnois was an accomplished man and faithful Governor. The progress made by the colony during his long administration has been already noticed.*

M. de la Galissoniere arrived at Quebec on the 19th of September 1747.

216. The first care of the new Governor was to acquaint himself with the resources and affairs of the colony, upon which he soon prepared and sent home a minute report. Like many of his predecessors, he suggested plans for strengthening and perpetuating the French power in North America. One of these was to establish ten thousand French peasants in the regions south of Lakes Erie and Michigan, so as to maintain effective communications between Canada and Louisiana, and to extinguish for ever all apprehension of encroachments on the part of the colonists of Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Carolina. He considered that the real boundary of the New Englanders, on the west, was the Appalachian range of mountains, or *Alleghanies*, and he urged the court to provide him with means of preventing intrusions beyond those limits. But to all such proposals, involving much expense at an inopportune moment, the French Ministers turned a deaf ear.

217. In 1748, by the *Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle*, peace had been concluded between the contending European powers. Conformably to this treaty, all captured territories were to revert to their former possessors, and joint-commis-

* It is recorded that a principal reason for the recall of Beauharnois arose from dissatisfaction of the French Government on account of the fall of Louisbourg, thus imputing blame to him for not having sufficiently provided against that disaster. He possessed qualities which endeared him to the people of the colony over whom he had ruled so long, and who testified their deep regret on the occasion of his embarking for France, on October 14, 1747.

sioners were to be appointed to settle the question of boundaries in America. The result of these important provisions was, that *Louisbourg* was restored to France. Of the four commissioners for settling boundaries, De la Galissoniere was subsequently named one, his remarkable attention to the interests of New France, and the knowledge he had acquired of all the affairs and capabilities of the colony, having led the French Ministers to entertain an opinion of his entire fitness for the duties which would devolve upon him. When peace was concluded, M. de la Jonquiere was at liberty to enter upon the occupation of his post as Governor of Canada, and Galissoniere was recalled to France.

218. During his brief administration, from 1747 to 1749, Galissoniere engaged actively in plans for recovering French influence at both the eastern and the western extremities of the territory of the colony. In the west, he employed several hundred French agents to conciliate the Indian tribes, to warn off English traders, and to mark out, in a formal manner, the territorial boundary between the colonists of New England and Canada. For this last purpose he caused a number of leaden plates, bearing suitable inscriptions, to be sunk in the ground at intervals, and in the presence of the Indian chiefs.*

In the east, he commissioned the priests to use their influence with the converted Abenaquis and the French inhabitants of Acadia, to induce them to withdraw from

* In 1749 he strongly recommended the establishment of a *printing-press* in Canada. The Government, in reply, told him to wait until some printer should offer to conduct a printing establishment on conditions that would be satisfactory, and not cost the King anything. The advantage of a press in the colony was not disputed.

Fifteen years afterwards a press was set up in Quebec, and the first newspaper issued in Canada—the *Quebec Gazette*—still in existence.

the territory claimed by the English. One of the priests—the Abbé le Loutre—was very successful in executing the Governor's wishes. Eventually a considerable number of the Catholic Acadians removed to settlements at *Bay Verte*. Some also, both French Acadians and Abenaquis, removed to the neighbourhood of Quebec. One of the causes of Galissoniere's desire to perfect his plans with respect to French influence in Acadia and Cape Breton grew out of the commencement, about this time, of a new establishment and naval station by the English within the Bay of Chebuctou—since called Halifax. Count Galissoniere perceived clearly the value of such a station on the Acadian coast, and desired to counterbalance this by inducing the Acadians to settle in large numbers at Bay Verte, and in the vicinity of the forts at the isthmus, *Beausejour* and *Gaspareaux*.

The departure of Galissoniere on September 24, 1749, left the further prosecution of these designs to his successor, M. de la Jonquiere.*

219. During the whole of the administration of M. de la Jonquiere, in spite of the existence of a state of peace between the mother countries, and in disregard of the wishes of their Governments to await the results of the commission to which the question of boundaries had been referred,† the French and British colonists persisted in all their former proceedings, acting towards each other with

* At this time *Professor Kalm*, a Swedish naturalist, was on a visit to Canada. Some of his observations upon the state of the colony are very interesting.

Kalm was a spectator of the ceremonies attendant upon Jonquiere's reception at Quebec, of which he published an account.

† A French writer, M. Dussieux says, that the only result of this commission was the sending in of a voluminous report in thirty-two quarto volumes.

views directed solely to the furtherance of their respective local interests.

The claims of the New Englanders extended far beyond any limits which could be entertained by the French. According to those claims, the lands from the sea-coast as far as the south banks of the St Lawrence belonged to the British, while the French colonists were to be confined to the regions north of the Great River and of the lakes.

In the west, so far from admitting French jurisdiction in the territory between the Alleghanies and the Mississippi, the English, as early as 1748, had formed a company for colonising the valley of the Ohio, fortified by a parliamentary grant of six hundred thousand acres. The French based their right to that valley upon La Salle's discovery of *Belle Rivière* (the *Ohio*) in 1670-71. But the English colonial Governors, repudiating that claim, continued to grant passes to parties of traders desirous of prosecuting traffic with the hordes of savages who hunted in those regions, though regarded by the French as portions of New France and Louisiana.*

Under such circumstances it was impossible for any accommodation to be arrived at which could satisfy the colonists on either side. Both parties built forts and established trading-posts wherever it seemed advantageous to do so, and wherever it was thought possible to maintain these in behalf of their respective pretensions.†

* In those vast and fertile regions which are here referred to—including now the territory of seven or eight States, Michigan, Ohio, Indiana, Kentucky, Illinois, Missouri, Iowa, Wisconsin—a multitude of restless Indian tribes wandered and hunted. Amongst them were the *Mascoutins, Kickapoos, Malhomines, Folles-Avoines, Sioux, Sakis, Miamis, Illinois, Pouteoutamis,* and *Outagamis* or *Renards,* some of whom, especially the last named, were bitterly hostile to the French.

† See the notice of the lines of forts given in the next chapter.

These outposts came to be established nearer and nearer to each other, until collisions and bloodshed became unavoidable, even before a recognised state of war again existed between the mother countries.

At this period there were three routes, or lines of communication, between Canada and Louisiana. One of these led from the south shore of Lake Erie by the *Rivière aux Bœufs* and the *River Alleghany* to the Ohio, and along this to the Mississippi. A second, starting from the south of Lake Michigan, passed along the *River Illinois* into the same great highway. The third was that of the rivers *Fox* and *Wisconsin*. *Fort de Chartres*, some distance north of the confluence of the Ohio with the Mississippi, was the first or most northern outpost of Louisiana.

It will be seen that a number of the fortified posts which were constructed westward and southward of lakes Ontario and Erie derived their importance from their positions with respect to the first of the three routes which have been described.

Much of the attention of Jonquiere, and of his successor, Duquesne, was occupied in establishing, providing for, and securing the safety of these numerous forts, by means of which the French colonists endeavoured to protect their communications with the west and south, and to anticipate the encroachments of the New Englanders.

The most advanced military post of the English—that of Chouagen (Oswego), commenced in 1722—had been constructed, as has been already mentioned, in defiance of the protests and menaces of the Governor Vaudreuil, and sustained, a long distance beyond what the French considered the British frontier, in spite of the continued remonstrances of his successors.

220. M. de la Jonquiere, who was reproached by the

French Minister *Rouville* for not prosecuting the plans of Galissoniere with sufficient energy, governed during three years. He was well advanced in years, and accused of avarice, and of being connected with people in the colony who made gain out of the liquor traffic. On several occasions he was embroiled in controversies with the clergy on that account. He was unfortunate in presiding over the affairs of the colony at a time when great abuses began to prevail among the leading officials, who lived extravagantly, took part in commerce, and amassed private fortunes at the expense of the King and the colonists. Complaints against the Governor were transmitted to the court, in consequence of which he demanded his recall. But his administration was brought to a close by his death at Quebec, in May 1752.*

221. On the death of Jonquiere, the Baron Longueil, in virtue of seniority of office, became the temporary head of the colony. He applied for the governorship, as his father had done twenty-seven years before, but was refused. In the meantime he devoted his attention to the maintenance of the position in which affairs stood when Jonquiere died.

The court had appointed *M. Duquesne* Governor-General in March 1752, and this functionary arrived at Quebec in July following.†

* The remains of De la Jonquiere were interred in the Church of the Recollets, near to those of several of his predecessors in office. At the time of his decease he was sixty-seven years old. He was said to have amassed a million francs (£40000) by his gains in Canada, although his stated salary was only about seven thousand francs, out of which he had to pay his guards, &c.

† In regard to the succession to the governorship of Canada, a remarkable passage occurs in a memorial addressed some years before to the French Minister by a priest, in which it was stated, "The Governor-General ought not to be a *Canadian*, nor have relations in Canada. He should be a man of quality, at least a general officer, and decorated with the

222. M. Duquesne found, on his arrival, the state of affairs such as to warrant the complaints already noticed. Bigot was Intendant. Many of the commandants of posts were concerned in traffic, and careless about their proper duties. The colonial officers were reluctant to take active service, and the composition of the troops was defective. The soldiers were insubordinate and disrespectful towards their superiors, and desertions were common. These subjects were complained of by Duquesne in a letter to the French Minister of Marine, dated in October 1753. In the same letter, disorderly conduct, and even dishonesty and cowardice, on the part of officers of the colonial troops, are specified. The Governor, however, applied himself vigorously to the work of correcting the evils. The number of the population was such that the militia could now be raised to fifteen thousand. He re-organised them, and had them thoroughly drilled. In the course of eighteen months, he effected a great reform in their composition, behaviour, and discipline.

He had received orders to persist in excluding English traders from the valley of the Ohio. In obedience to these he established new posts. Under his directions an officer

Cross of St Louis. He ought to be childless, and not the husband of a young and worldly woman. He should be brave, capable of enduring bodily fatigue, of popular manners, humane towards French and savages, but insufferably haughty towards the English, yet sage and cautious. He should concern himself exclusively about matters appertaining to the honour of the King and the interests of the kingdom and colony." The document from which the foregoing is an extract, and which has been quoted at greater length by Ferland, derives some weight from the manifest ability of its author to offer suggestions useful in the interests of the colony, as is to be gathered from other portions of the memorial relating to positions in the country proper to be occupied, and public works to be undertaken, such as canals, some of which have in later times been actually constructed.

named *Contrecœur* built a considerable fort near the confluence of the rivers *Monongahela* and *Alleghany* with the river Ohio, named Fort *Duquesne*, on the site of the modern city Pittsburg.* Another fort, called Fort *Venango*, was built at the junction of the *Rivière aux Bœufs* with the Alleghany.

Duquesne, also, besides reinforcing all the western fortified posts, gave strict orders to the commandants to seize all English traders found trespassing on French territory, and to confiscate their property.

In the meantime, the colonists of Virginia, sustained by the approval of the authorities in England, persisted in assuming that the valley of the Ohio was British territory. It became no longer possible to avoid collisions and bloodshed.

223. Two occurrences soon afterwards precipitated a recourse to hostilities between the rival colonists, before the mother countries felt prepared to enter upon a final struggle for supremacy on American soil. It happened that some New England traders, to escape capture and the confiscation of their goods, took refuge amongst the Miamis, who refused to surrender them when summoned by the French officers to do so. A conflict ensued, in which one English trader and a number of Miamis were slain.

The incident caused a sensation in the English colonies, and a reference on the subject was made to the home

* According to some accounts the French were not the first to select this site or even to commence the works of a fort. The company for colonising the Ohio valley had, it is said, been recommended to establish a post there by a young Virginian officer—the celebrated *George Washington*—and some progress had already been made, when the French came upon the scene, drove the English workmen away, and completed the unfinished works. The English, in consequence, constructed a fort farther south, on the bank of the *Monongahela*, and named it *Fort Necessity*.

Government. The latter decided that the proceedings of the French were indefensible and aggressive.

224. The other occurrence alluded to was of a still more grave character.

In 1753, Governor Dinwiddie of Virginia resolved upon more decisive steps than before relative to the occupation of the Ohio valley, appealing for assistance to England and to the other British colonies. It had already, after the affair with the Miamis, been decided by the King in Council that the territory in dispute formed the western part of the Virginian colony, and that any active opposition by the French colonists in that quarter should be regarded as hostile, and be resisted by force. At the same time Dinwiddie was unsuccessful in his applications for immediate aid. He therefore determined to act alone, and dispatched a body of men under George Washington into the country between Fort Necessity and Fort Duquesne, with directions to establish himself, and to notify the French that they were unlawfully occupying British territory.

Washington, now a young officer of twenty-two, passed with his command along the banks of the Monongahela in May 1754. His advanced guard, under Ensign Ward, constructed a small fort or blockhouse, which was forthwith attacked by the French, and the party in occupation made prisoners.

Contrecœur, the commandant at Duquesne, sent an officer, *M. de Jumonville*, with an escort of thirty-four men, to seek the English leader, and to warn him off French territory. Jumonville arrived in Washington's neighbourhood about the end of May, in the night-time. He and his detachment were seen by the scouts belonging to the English force, which surrounded the French party in the midst of the forest. Washington himself has stated

in defence of his proceedings, and in palliation of the tragedy which ensued on the following morning, that he considered a state of war existed owing to the attack previously made upon Ensign Ward, and that as he was under orders to repulse the French as being aggressors and intruders within the New England frontier, he ordered his men to fire upon the supposed enemy; adding, that Jumonville did not indicate his character by reading any summons; that the French party rushed to arms as soon as the English became visible to them; and that the result was a skirmish and legitimate warfare under the circumstances.

This result, however, included the slaughter of M. Jumonville and nine men of his party, the remainder being taken or escaping by flight. On the English side one was killed and two or three were wounded. Governor Dinwiddie sustained the proceedings of his officer, who, he said, had only done his duty, while the French officer was alleged to have owed his fate to his own imprudence and that of his followers, since they had all abandoned or concealed the character of mere emissaries bearing a summons, by rushing to arms when the English troops came in sight.

This affair, when it became known in the French colony and in France, excited intense feeling, and produced comments expressing the most odious imputations. In public documents as well as private letters the death of Jumonville was characterised by the terms *murder* and *assassination*.*

After the untoward encounter with Jumonville and his

* Governors Duquesne and Vaudreuil applied these terms to the case in their letters to the French Ministry. Contrecœur and other officers in Canada uniformly held the same language. M. de Villiers, who subsequently took Washington prisoner of war when Fort Necessity surrendered, not only caused the term *assassination* to be made use of in one of the articles of capitulation, but is also reported to have said to him—"We can avenge an

party, Washington established himself in Fort Necessity,* on the Monongahela.

Contrecœur, at Duquesne, on learning the fate of his subordinate officer, immediately commissioned M. de Villiers to conduct a band of six hundred French, with one hundred savages, against the English, to seek and attack them wherever they could be found. These instructions were given June 28, 1754.

Villiers, arriving in the vicinity of Fort Necessity, attacked it on July 3, having disposed his troops within gunshot on the contiguous high land, but concealed amongst the bushes and trees. In the English position there were five hundred men and nine pieces of artillery. After sustaining the fire of the French musquetry during ten hours, Washington capitulated. He had lost ninety men, and his position was untenable. The French loss was two killed and seventy wounded. Terms honourable to the English garrison were accorded. In the first article it was stated that the purpose of the attack was, "not to disturb the peace and good feeling which subsisted between the two friendly Kings, but solely to avenge an assassination committed upon an officer, the bearer of a summons, and his escort."† Washington, who signed the articles of capitu-

assassination, but not follow the example." Villiers was Jumonville's brother.

Voltaire, writing in allusion to Jumonville's fate, and also to the capture of French merchantmen by English cruisers, said, in a letter dated July 12, 1757:—"I was formerly of the English party, but am that no longer, since the English *assassinate* our officers in America, and have turned pirates on the sea."

* According to some accounts, Fort Necessity, which was merely a *stockade*, situated in a hollow between two eminences, and surrounded on three sides by forest trees, was not constructed until after the affair with Jumonville. Washington purposed to march against Fort Duquesne, but was obliged to wait for reinforcements from Virginia.

† See Appendix relative to the capitulation of Fort Necessity.

lation, bound himself to restore the prisoners formerly of Jumonville's party, and gave up as hostages for the fulfilment of this condition two of his own officers,* who were to be detained in the meantime in Canada. The victors destroyed the English fort, while Washington, with his surviving followers, retired across the Alleghanies into Virginia.

225. Although the occurrences narrated in the foregoing article did not lead to immediate hostilities between the mother countries, yet preparations were made on both sides, as it was foreseen that another war was now inevitable. The French Government equipped for Canada a larger body of troops than had ever before been sent out. The English at the same time dispatched General *Braddock*, with two regiments of soldiers, to New York.

In fact, the decisive struggle between France and England in America was inevitable, and would commence as soon as the Governments of the two countries should feel ready; and the shots exchanged between their colonial officers on the banks of the Monongahela may be regarded as the first of the great war which was to end in the transfer of New France from the parent state to Great Britain. Several remarkable events, however, occurred, and a series of deadly conflicts between the colonists, aided by regular troops on both sides, intervened, during the two years which elapsed before war was formally declared; for England and France were nominally at peace while their respective subjects were shedding each others' blood in America.

* Captains *Jacob Wambram* and *Robert Stobo* were the hostages. The latter, according to the allegations of the French, ruined his reputation for honour, and placed his own life in jeopardy, by his conduct while detained as a hostage in Canada. (See p. 307.)

CHAPTER XXIV.

FORTIFIED POSTS—PREPARATIONS DURING THE WINTER OF 1754—REINFORCEMENTS FOR THE COLONIES—M. DE VAUDREUIL, GOVERNOR—ENGLISH COLONISTS PLAN FOUR EXPEDITIONS—SHIRLEY'S ABORTIVE EXPEDITION—OPERATIONS IN ACADIA—DEPLORABLE EVENTS AND DEPORTATION OF ACADIANS—GENERAL BRADDOCK'S EXPEDITION—BATTLE OF LA BELLE RIVIERE—GENERALS LYMAN AND JOHNSON—FORTS LYDIUS AND GEORGE—DEFEAT OF DIESKAU AT LAKE GEORGE—OCCUPATION OF CARILLON OR TICONDEROGA—AFFAIRS IN CANADA—BIGOT—SCARCITY AND MISMANAGEMENT—PREPARATIONS BY THE ENGLISH COLONISTS FOR 1756—GENERAL ABERCROMBIE'S MOVEMENTS—REINFORCEMENTS FROM FRANCE—GENERAL MONTCALM AND HIS PRINCIPAL OFFICERS—OPERATIONS AND PREPARATIONS AT LAKE CHAMPLAIN AND FRONTENAC—MONTCALM'S VICTORY AT OSWEGO.

226. In order to comprehend the course of events related in this and the following chapters, it is necessary to explain the positions of the principal fortified posts established in Canada and Acadia, and on the frontiers of New England, at the period up to which this history has been brought.

Beginning with Acadia or Nova Scotia, the acknowledged territory of Great Britain, conformably to the Treaty of Utrecht, the chief station was *Halifax*, founded in 1749. The English had also smaller fortified posts near the Straits of *Canseau*, at *Port Rossignol* (*Liverpool*), *Port-Royal* (*Annapolis*), *Grandpré* and *Beaubassin* (*Lawrence*). On the isthmus connecting the peninsula with the mainland were the French forts *Beausejour*, *Gaspareaux*, and another smaller one at *Bay Verte*. On the east coast of Cape

MAP
shewing the
MILITARY ROUTES INTO CANADA
POSITIONS OF FORTS &c.
1759-60.
ALLIMETTE
River Dawne
MONTREAL
LACHINE
ISLE NEWBURY
ST JOHN
ISLEBAUX NOIS
LAKE CHAMPLAIN
LAKE ONTARIO
MOHAWKS
FORT ONTARIO
OSWEGO
FORT BULL
FORT STANWIX
ONONDAGAS
IROQUOIS CANTONS
NEW YORK
FORT HUNTER
SCHENECTADY
ALBANY
FORT EDWARD
FORT ANNE
TIEGHD EROGA
West from Greenwich

Breton, or *Isle Royale*, was the strongly fortified station, *Louisbourg*, which, after its capture by the British, in 1745, had been restored to France in 1748. The works at Louisbourg had been repaired and extended since that time, and the place was now well furnished with supplies, and a considerable garrison.

227. On the western frontiers of New England there were many fortified stations, intended chiefly to check Indian and Canadian raids, but not necessary to be specified here.

Extending northward from the colony of New York, and westward of Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia, there were several fortified places which became the objects of contest, or the theatres of important occurrences in the course of the ensuing campaigns of the war. Some of them, however, were not actually completed before the war, but were constructed on particular occasions, and as required, for the support of military operations.

Of these the chief were, *Fort Lydius* (*Fort Edward*), at the northern extremity of the River Hudson; *Fort George* (*Fort William Henry*), on Lake George; *Fort St Anne; Fort Carillon* (*Ticonderoga*); *Fort Frederick* (*Crown Point*);*

* This was considered the most important of all the French posts in the neighbourhood of Lake Champlain, and was constructed by the order of Governor Beauharnois in 1731. It was situated on an inconsiderable site, forming a sort of causeway projecting into the lake, and flanked on the other side by a pond or bog, called "*Le Grand Marais.*" It was three or four leagues from the head-waters of the River Hudson, and about the same distance from Lake George, then called "*St Sacrament.*" In the plans of each successive campaign during the war, from 1755 to 1759, its capture and defence became, to the two contending parties, prime objects of attention, which led to desperate encounters in other neighbouring localities; but the fort itself was never the actual scene of a conflict. The reasons for selecting the site originally, and which made both the French and the English attribute so much consequence to its possession, are made apparent in a letter of Intendant Hocquart, written about the year 1730, in which he says—"Masters of Crown Point, we shall block the way against

and the five older forts on the Richelieu, *Isle aux Noix*, *St John's*, *Chambly*, *L'Assumption*, and *Sorel*.

To maintain communication with Lake Ontario, the New York colonists had several posts, extending from the Hudson north-westward from Albany, the inland capital, the most distant of which were *Fort Bull*, *Fort Ontario*, and *Fort Chouagen* (Oswego).

Westward from Montreal the French had, from time to time, constructed forts at different points, so situated as to maintain their communications with the lake regions, with the Ohio valley, and with Louisiana. They were also intended to answer various purposes—to repel the encroachments of the English colonists, and the ingress of their traders into New France, to intercept the Indians of the west and north-west, and secure the traffic with them, instead of leaving it open to them to go and trade with the New Englanders. Many of these stations were further required to sustain French influence among the tribes, to protect them at times from each other, and to answer the purpose of depôts for the commodities for which the savages were accustomed to barter their furs and skins of wild animals.

Proceeding upwards on the south side of the St Lawrence, there were Forts *Presentation* (*Ogdensburg*), *Levis*, near the outlet of Lake Ontario, Forts *Niagara*, *Presqu'isle*, *Rivière aux Bœufs*, *Machault*, *Venango*, and *Duquesne*—the four last mentioned extending southward from Lake Erie, to keep up communications with the Ohio region, and shut out the English colonists. Duquesne, as has been

the English, and shall be in a position to fall upon them when they least expect attacks. If the English anticipate us in occupying the site, then they will have the advantage of preventing us from showing ourselves on the lake, in place of our being enabled, when masters of that post, to constantly harass them with small bands of raiders, such as were had recourse to between 1689 and 1699."

stated, was constructed under the orders of the Governor of that name, at a fork of the River Ohio, and was the most advanced of the French posts, and nearest to the English posts, *Fort Necessity*, the scene of George Washington's defeat and surrender, and *Fort Cumberland*, on the river Potomac. Fort Duquesne was placed in good order to resist an assault, and defended by cannon and a numerous garrison. It was also important as being the headquarters of the French commander, to whose care was confided the charge of the chain of forts lying between it and Lake Erie, and which have been enumerated above. On the north shore of Ontario, at the place anciently called *Cataracoui* (*Kingston*), was *Fort Frontenac*, originally planned by Governor Courcelles, though erected by, and called after his successor, Count Frontenac. Next in order of position was Fort Toronto (*York, Toronto*), constructed under the orders of Governor de la Jonquiere, and originally named by him Fort *Rouville*, in honour of the French Minister of Marine. At the western end of Lake Erie was Fort *Portchartrain* (Detroit), and farther west, Fort *Miamis*, Fort *St Joseph*, a blockhouse named *Chicagou*, Fort *Crevecœur*, on the Illinois river, and a fortified post on the Mississippi, near to the junction of the Missouri. The six last named stations served to keep open the communications between the lake regions and the first outpost of Louisiana, Fort *de Chartres*, on the Mississippi, situated some distance below the modern city *St Louis*. There were other forts and stations occupied by the French in the lake regions to the north—as at *Michillimakinac*, at the mouth of the *Fox* river, and in other parts; it is unnecessary, however, to refer to them more particularly.*

* To the foregoing account of some of the fortified stations of the French and English colonists, it should be added that intermediate com-

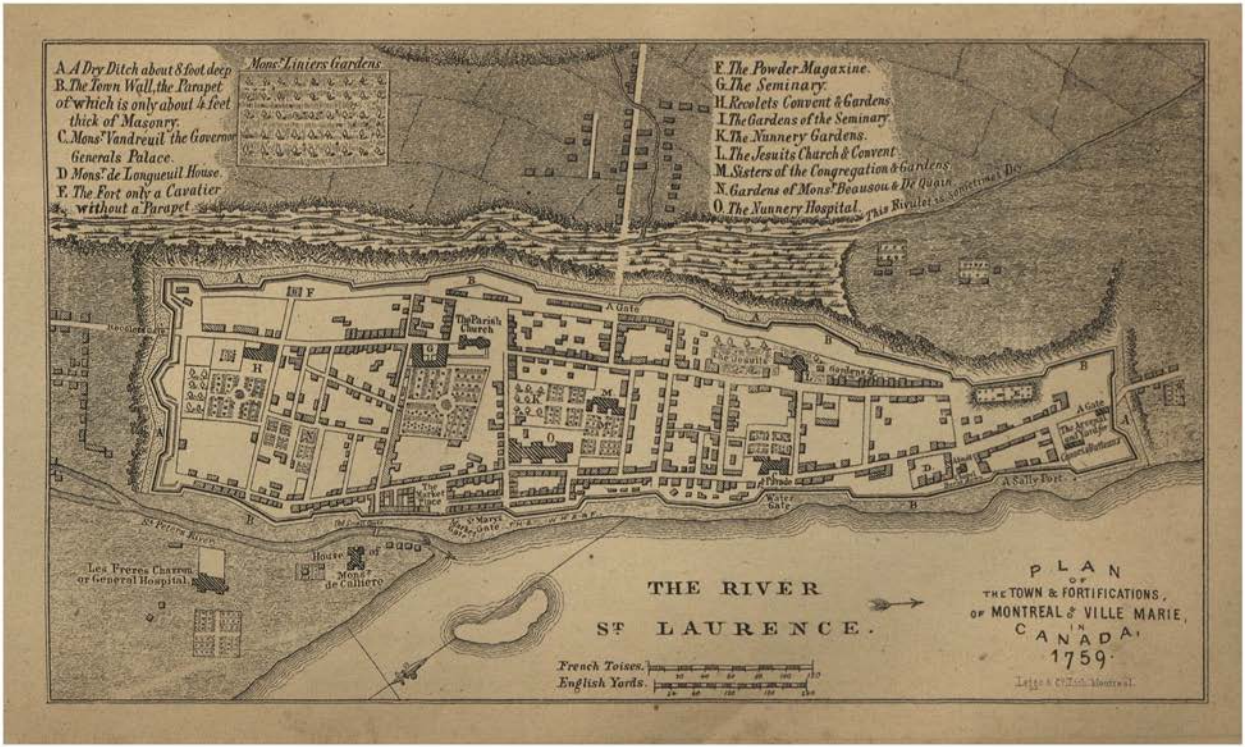
At Montreal a low stone wall or fence had been in process of construction since the year 1722, with scarcely any other means of enabling the city to hold out against military operations. In fact, the defences there were not designed for resisting an enemy practising tactics different from those of the Iroquois, the ancient foes of the colonists. Even at the time of its greatest peril, in 1760, the city was wholly unprepared to stand a siege. A passage which occurs in the biography of the foundress of the Montreal General Hospital, quoted from an official letter of the date September 25, 1760, sets forth, that "The city has nothing but a *terraced wall*, built for the sole purpose of preventing a surprise or *coup de main*, and quite incapable of resisting artillery."

228. During the winter of 1754, preparations were made both in France and England to reinforce the American colonies with troops and munitions of war.

munication between the more important places was maintained by chains of minor forts. Thus between Albany and Oswego there was Fort *Hunter*, about twenty miles distant from Schenectady; next Fort *Cannatchoary*, upwards of thirty miles beyond Fort Hunter; then, in succession, *Kowan*, Fort *Williams*, and Fort *Bull*, the last situated near the small lake *Oncida*.

To cut this line of communication, by which the English sent provisions and reinforcements of men to Chouagen or Oswego, Governor Vaudreuil, in March 1756, sent a party from Montreal, by way of Ogdensburg, under *M. de Lery*, who crossed the country to Fort Bull, and surprised the place, capturing eighty-six men, and a large quantity of stores and provisions, greatly needed in the French colony at that time, where the inhabitants were already reduced to the use of horseflesh, and one pound each of very bad bread daily.

Vaudreuil was very uneasy about the English position at Oswego, from which they could descend to Montreal in three or four days. Soon after De Lery's expedition, he sent a stronger one under *De Villiers*, who, with eight hundred men, fortified a position at the mouth of *Black River*, not far from *Sackett's Harbour*, and from which he made frequent attacks on convoys bound for Oswego, rendering communication with Schenectady and Albany very difficult.


A. A Dry Ditch about 8 foot deep
B. The Town Wall, the Parapet of which is only about 4 feet thick of Masonry.
C. Mons.r Vandreuil the Governor Generals Palace.
D Mons.r de Longueuil House.
F. The Fort only a Cavalier without a Parapet
Mons.r Liniers Gardens
F. The Powder Magaxine.
G. The Seminary.
H. Recolets Convent & Gardens.
I. The Gardens of the Seminary.
K. The Nunnery Gardens.
L. The Jesuits Church & Convent.
M. Sisters of the Congregation & Gardens.
N. Gardens of Mons.r Beausou & De Quain.
O. The Nunnery Hospital.
This Rivulet is sometimes Dry
Recolets Gate
The Parish Church
A Gate
The Jesuits
Gardens
A Gate
A Sally Port
Water Gate
St Peters River
Les Freres Charron or General Hospital.
House of Mons.r de Calliere
THE RIVER
ST LAURENCE.
French Toises.
English Yards.
PLAN
OF
THE TOWN & FORTIFICATIONS,
OF MONTREAL & VILLE MARIE,
IN
CANADA.
1759.

Field-Marshal Baron Dieskau was appointed to command six regiments of French soldiers, numbering 3359 men and officers, who embarked at Brest, in the end of April 1755, on board the fleet of Admiral de la Mothe. A.D. 1755. This squadron consisted of fourteen line-of-battle ships, four frigates, and numerous transports bearing supplies of all kinds.

The English Government had already dispatched to New York troops under General Braddock, as has been stated in the preceding chapter, who arrived at their destination in the month of February. An English fleet also, commanded by Admiral Boscawen, was sent to cruise near the Gulf of St Lawrence, with the hope of intercepting the reinforcements for Canada.

The French fleet had a long and hazardous passage. In June, on its arrival off Cape Race, three of the ships of war, which had separated from the others, were attacked by the English, who captured two, while the third made its escape into Louisbourg. The remainder of the squadron arrived safe at Quebec in the month of July.

Notwithstanding the absence of a formal declaration of war, the ships of Boscawen, after missing the main body of the French fleet, proceeded to make captures of fishing vessels and merchantmen, to the number, it is said, of three hundred.*

229. With the French reinforcements, the successor of Duquesne, who had resigned, arrived at Quebec—M. de *Vaudreuil*, son of the former Governor of that name.

Military operations on the part of the English had

* Dussieux states that the French losses amounted to three hundred millions of francs, and that ten thousand sailors fell into the hands of the English. Louis XV., on learning the facts, still abstained from declaring war. But he withdrew his ambassador from London, and the warlike preparations were actively prosecuted.

already been commenced in the valley of the Ohio, and in Acadia.

The new Governor entered vigorously upon the duties of his office, holding councils of war at Quebec with Dieskau and his officers, and making every effort to prepare for the approaching struggle.

230. The English colonists, who had concerted their plans immediately after Braddock's arrival, made preparations for assailing New France in four different directions.

The general object of the projected military operations may be stated to have been the expulsion of the French from the whole extent of territory claimed or occupied by them south of the line of the St Lawrence and of the great lakes.*

With that end in view, at a great council of colonial Governors, attended by the English general Braddock, as well as a number of the Iroquois chiefs, it was determined to dispatch four expeditions—one to the valley of the Ohio, another against Fort Niagara, a third in the direction of Lake Champlain, to capture the position at Crown Point, and a fourth to expel the French from those portions of Acadia which remained in their possession.

231. At the time when the above-mentioned operations were decided on by the English colonists, Governor Duquesne still ruled in Canada, for, although he had sent in his resignation, his successor had not arrived; nor was it possible

* It is not to be understood that the aim of the New England colonists, at first, was to drive the French entirely out of North America. As already stated in the text, the French colonists considered that the English had no territorial rights behind or beyond the line of the Alleghanies, or beyond the isthmus which connected Nova Scotia with the mainland; the English, on the contrary, had set up claims to all the land comprehended between the seaboard, the St Lawrence, the great lakes, and the Mississippi.

for the authorities at Quebec to know precisely beforehand what measures their enemies were about to pursue. They resolved, however, as early as possible in the ensuing season, to drive the English back from the south shore of Ontario, by means of an expedition to be directed against Oswego. The commandants of all the military posts throughout New France were ordered to be vigilant, and, in case of attack, to maintain their positions to the last extremity; and everything was done which the condition of the colony permitted, in the way of placing those stations in a good state of defence.* Such was the position of affairs up to the time of Governor Vaudreuil's arrival, and that of the reinforcements from France.

At first Vaudreuil entered heartily into the plans for effecting the capture of Oswego. The troops at Quebec, to be united with forces directed to assemble at Frontenac and other convenient points, were put in readiness for the undertaking. But, by this time, the news received of the operations of the English, and other circumstances,† occasioned a change of plans, so that the proposed attack upon Chouagen was deferred.

232. It would be inconsistent with the objects of this

* It must be borne in mind, however, that an almost universal system of fraud and peculation in the use of the supplies destined for the different French posts prevailed at this time amongst those to whom the care, management, and distribution, were confided. These evils, throughout the war, paralysed the efforts of all the honest defenders of the colony.

† Dissensions soon broke out at Quebec. The Canadian officers and those in command of the regulars from France did not agree well together. Two parties sprung up; that of the *Canadians*, being generally favoured by the Governor, whose most trusted counsellors were unfortunately some of the very officials who were more concerned about making private fortunes than about the real welfare and effective defence of the country. Jealousies between the regulars and the French Canadians prevailed throughout the war.

history to enter into a narrative of all the details connected with the military operations of 1755, a full account of which would fill a considerable volume.

Of the four expeditions referred to in a former article (230), the first under Braddock was disastrously unsuccessful. That against Niagara, undertaken by General Shirley of Massachusetts, was also abortive, chiefly in consequence of Braddock's failure. The other two expeditions proved more fortunate to their projectors, although that which was directed against the French in Acadia was the only one which can be said to have entirely accomplished its purpose. Beginning with this last-named undertaking, the events of which transpired first in the order of time, the leading incidents are recorded in the following article:—

233. The Government of Massachusetts * furnished six or seven hundred troops of their militia, and a sufficient number of small transports, for service in Nova Scotia, and to act in conjunction with the forces already there. Two or three frigates also entered the Bay of Fundy to co-operate in the proceedings about to take place. Lieutenant-Governor Laurence appointed *Colonel Moncton* to command the forces at his disposal, with a portion of which the latter moved upon the isthmus, at the extreme end of the Bay of Fundy, for the purpose of capturing the French forts. Other troops were sent to *Port Royal* and *Grandpré*, under Colonel Winslow and Captain Murray, for objects which will appear in the sequel.

Forts *Beausejour*,† *Gaspareaux*, and a third small one

* At this period Nova Scotia was governed by a Lieutenant-Governor, subordinate to the authorities of Massachusetts.

† The commandant at Beausejour was *M. Vergor Duchambon*, accused of being concerned in the mismanagement and peculation of which mention has been made on a former page. He was a son of the commandant who capitulated at Louisbourg in 1745. This Vergor Duchambon was under

at Bay Verte, surrendered to the English with scarcely a show of resistance. The entire isthmus thus fell into the hands of the English colonists.

The first objects of the expedition having been attained, the next step was to deal with the Acadians, who, to the number of about eight thousand, inhabited the peninsula and the isthmus. Although by the Treaty of Utrecht Nova Scotia had become an acknowledged possession of Great Britain, yet its French and Roman Catholic inhabitants had generally refused to swear allegiance to the King of England. They were naturally disaffected towards the British Government. The Abbé Loutre, and their other missionaries, were alleged to have exercised an undue influence, and to have made every possible exertion, secretly and openly, in the way of preventing the Acadians from remaining good British subjects. Moreover, many who had taken the oath had broken it, acted with their countrymen against the British, revolted on occasions, or been found in arms on the French side. The resolute English colonial authorities of that day could perceive no way of rendering the Acadians contented subjects.

At the same time it has been alleged by many writers that, upon the whole, the Acadians were an inoffensive and peaceable people, remarkable for honesty, sobriety, and simplicity of character and habits, as well as tolerably successful in industrial pursuits, and the cultivation of their lands. Their own Government had, by treaty, severed their

the influence of the Intendant Bigot, who had procured for him his appointment from Vaudreuil. He is also said to have been the same officer who subsequently, on the night of September 12, 1759, was in command of the French picket near the spot where General Wolfe effected a landing preparatory to scaling the heights of Abraham.

Vergor Duchambon is spoken of by French writers as a mere creature of Bigot, and unworthy of the important command he held at Beausejour.

connection with France when Nova Scotia was ceded, merely stipulating in their behalf that they should be allowed to continue in the free exercise of their religion. But, as alleged by some, their rights in this respect had been regarded with disfavour by their new rulers, and occasionally trespassed upon, with accompanying harsh treatment.

At the time of which we now write, the English authorities felt themselves to be in a dilemma, from which they saw no escape except by means which will ever excite in all honourable minds the deepest sympathy for the unfortunate Acadians. They could not treat the whole people as rebels, for the great majority had remained quiet in their settlements. They could not transport them to France or to England, as they knew not the trades and callings by which to procure subsistence in those countries. They were colonists and descendants of colonists, fitted only for colonial life. But, in the highly excited state of feeling by which the people of the two mother countries were now animated against each other, with the prospect of a desperate struggle for supremacy in North America, those who were now the arbiters of the destinies of the Acadians recoiled from the idea of leaving so many thousands to live and increase in their present settlements, hostile to British interests, and to become hereafter, possibly, a compact nation of adversaries within their own borders.

In the face of these and other considerations, the quality of mercy towards the Acadians was less regarded than the views which were entertained by the English colonists respecting their own material interests for the present and the future. At the isthmus, at Grandpré, Port-Royal, and other places most thickly occupied, the military officers, acting under the orders of the colonial authorities, and with

the sanction of the British Government, notified the unhappy Acadians that their habitations, animals and other property, excepting money and movables, were confiscated to the King's use. They themselves, with their families, were to be removed from the country, and dispersed amongst the other British North American possessions. At appointed times, in the following autumn, transports were anchored off different parts of the coast to receive the victims of these calamitous proceedings, and to carry them off into exile in Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Georgia. The embarkations were often brought about by force. The old and young, the men, the women, and children, were marched to the beach in separate bodies and placed on board. In many instances members of the same family were forcibly separated from each other, never to meet again. The degree of individual suffering occasioned by the deplorable proceedings may be left to the imagination, but cannot be described. Many made their escape to the forests. In some places, the fugitives having nothing to subsist upon, and no prospect of support or shelter during the ensuing winter, except that of returning by stealth to their deserted lands and habitations, the officers, to cut off all dependence on those sources, caused everything to be destroyed, so that the former owners might be compelled to return and yield themselves. Some took refuge amongst the Indians—some made their escape into Canada.

It has been computed that between three and four thousand Acadians were thus deprived of their property and removed into exile.*

* See Archives of Nova Scotia; also Transactions of the Quebec Literary and Historical Society for 1870-71, Paper read by Dr Anderson.

"Scarcely had the Anglo-American troops discharged the lamentable duties which had been assigned to them, when the soldiers were struck

Although the embarkation of so many people, under such painful circumstances, could not but be attended with great disorder, the Acadians themselves, for the most part, offered no resistance to the military, and but few lives were sacrificed. In the villages near Port-Royal several hundred houses were burnt by the soldiers in the sight of their former occupants. These, collected in detached bodies and surrounded by guards, viewed the destruction of their homes with looks betokening despair or resignation, according to the varieties of their dispositions, none making any effort to stay the hands which applied the torches. When, however, a place of worship was approached with the purpose of consigning it to the flames, a rush was made, on one occasion, upon the soldiers, and twenty-nine of these were killed or wounded in the conflict which ensued.

with horror at their situation. Standing surrounded by rich and well-cultivated fields, they found themselves, nevertheless, in the midst of profound solitude. They beheld no enemy to attack, no friend to succour. Volumes of smoke ascending from the sites of the burnt habitations marked the spots where, a few days before, happy families dwelt. Domestic animals, as if seeking the return of their masters, gathered and moved uneasily around the smoking ruins. During the long nights the watch-dogs howled among these scenes of desolation, and uttered plaintive sounds, as if to recall their ancient protectors and the roofs under which they had been sheltered."—*Ferland*, vol. ii. p. 520.

"There is not an example in modern times of chastisement inflicted upon a peaceable and inoffensive people with so much calculation, barbarity, and *sang-froid* as the one in question."—*Dussieux, cited from Garneau*, by whom, however, the actual facts have been exaggerated.

A number of Acadians made their way to the neighbourhood of Mirimachi, where they were afterwards succoured by means of ships with provisions sent out from France for them to Quebec. When the vessels carrying a part of the supplies from Quebec returned from Mirimachi, they brought with them many Acadian families. There they fell under the tender mercies of Varin, and other creatures of the Intendant Bigot, who kept back the bread intended for them, and gave them, instead of beef, *horse-flesh*. These nefarious practices occasioned the death of many of the unhappy Acadians at Quebec through want and misery.

See also the Appendix to this volume.

According to the terms of capitulation, the combatants made prisoners in the captured forts of the isthmus were sent, at the cost of the English, to Louisbourg.

234. Meanwhile the troops under Shirley and General Braddock had entered upon their respective lines of march from Albany and Fort Cumberland in the months of June and July.

Of Shirley's expedition it is only necessary to record here, that, on his way towards Lake Ontario, through the territory of the Iroquois, news reached him of Braddock's defeat and death, which discouraged his followers, intimidated the Iroquois from joining him, and occasioned the disarrangement of his plans so much that he abandoned his enterprise.*

General Braddock was detained at Fort Cumberland nearly a month from deficiency of means of transport, but was at length enabled to commence his march across the Alleghanies on the 10th of June, at the head of two thousand three hundred men. He had with him the 44th and 48th British infantry regiments, some colonial troops,† and ten or twelve pieces of artillery. Scouts brought intelligence that the French garrison at Duquesne were expecting reinforcements. Braddock therefore divided his force, hastening forward himself with his two English regiments, some guns, and a few colonials. The heavier baggage, with the remainder of his troops and artillery, he left to be brought

* Shirley was more than six weeks in passing to Oswego. Many of his people had deserted. His supplies were found to be insufficient. Instead of prosecuting his movement upon Niagara, he left a reinforcement of seven hundred men under Colonel Mercer at Oswego, and made his way back to Albany. The Iroquois, who also had heard of Braddock's defeat, not only declined Shirley's overtures, but raised objections to his violation of the neutrality of their cantons.

† *George Washington* was there, with several companies of Virginian militia, and acted as Braddock's aide-de-camp (Archives of Nova Scotia).

after him, under the command of Colonel Dunbar. Ignorant of the tactics and character of the enemies he was about to encounter on the ground upon which these were best qualified by their habits and their experience to excel, Braddock marched as if to an assured victory, neglecting the precautions recommended by Washington and other colonial officers. Having emerged, as he believed, from among the worst obstacles presented by the rocks and defiles of the Alleghanies, he crossed the River Monongahela, at a short distance from Fort Duquesne, which formed the first object of attack. The French commandant, Contrecœur, had, in the meantime, sent out a party of eight hundred and fifty regulars, Canadians and Indians, under *M. de Beaujeu*, to operate against the English General.* On the 9th of July, Beaujeu's detachment encountered the English with great spirit, having his troops so disposed that his militia and Canadian volunteers faced their enemies in front, while the savages fought on the right and left, somewhat in advance, so as to attack them in flank. Protecting themselves after their fashion, behind trees and bushes, and being practised marksmen, the Canadians and savages, with inferior numbers, were quite able to contend with officers and men accustomed only to European modes of warfare. With useless valour, Braddock stood his ground until more than half his men were shot down, when he himself was mortally wounded. The obstinate soldier reluctantly permitted himself to be carried away on a litter, and soon afterwards a general retreat was sounded. This presently became a disgraceful flight, in which arms, baggage, and artillery were abandoned, and which was accelerated by the yells of the Indians, as they pursued or

* Beaujeu's force consisted of seventy-two regulars, one hundred and forty-six Canadian militia, and six hundred and thirty-seven Indians.

stopped to scalp the helpless wounded. The defeat was so complete, that, had the Indians not been diverted from the pursuit by the opportunities of obtaining plunder, very few of the British force would have escaped death or captivity.

The cannon, stores, arms, and papers* of the English fell into the hands of the victors, whose loss was insignificant in comparison with that of Braddock's army. The fugitives, many of whom were drowned in endeavouring to make their way across the Monongahela, continued their flight until they fell in with that portion of the force which had been left behind under Dunbar.† The report of the recent conflict discouraged this officer from advancing, and he decided upon retracing his steps to Fort Cumberland.

In this affair, which was styled the battle of "La Belle Rivière," upwards of sixty British officers were killed. General Braddock died of his wounds a few days afterwards.

On the French side, also, the commander, M. de Beaujeu, was amongst the slain.

235. The expedition against Crown Point was composed of about five thousand men, chiefly militia drawn from Massachusetts and Connecticut. While *General Lyman*

* Amongst General Braddock's papers was found a letter, written by Captain *Robert Stobo*, one of the hostages for the fulfilment of the terms of capitulation of Fort Necessity. It contained details of information relative to Fort Duquesne, with urgent representations of the facility with which it could be captured. For the alleged offence of acting as a spy while detained at Duquesne on his parole as a hostage, Stobo was tried by a court-martial at Quebec, and sentenced to death. It appears the sentence was not executed. Stobo subsequently escaped from prison at Quebec, and reached Halifax, whence he returned when the siege was going on under General Wolfe, to whom he offered his services.

† Colonel Washington had been ordered by Braddock to remain with his companies on the other side of the river. When the beaten remnants of the 44th and 48th regiments re-crossed, Washington's command formed the rear-guard, thus maintaining some semblance of an orderly retreat.

The wounded had been abandoned to the tender mercies of the Indians.

conducted this force up the River Hudson, towards the proposed scene of active operations, the commander-in-chief, *General Johnson*,* occupied himself in conciliating the support of the Mohawks, by whom he had been held in much esteem during many years. He succeeded in inducing their chiefs to furnish a contingent of three hundred men, with whom he himself rejoined the army at *Fort Lydius* (*Fort Edward*), early in September. This fort was constructed at the northern extremity of the Hudson, by General Johnson's orders, before the army resumed its march towards Crown Point, as he was desirous of possessing a place to retreat upon in case of misfortune, and also to use it as a depôt for provisions and munitions of war. The fort being completed, and a garrison of several hundred men left to guard it, the army advanced towards the shore of Lake St Sacrament, to which Johnson now, in honour of the King of England, gave the name of *Lake George*.

There the army formed an encampment in a well-selected position. A French army, under General Dieskau, had been dispatched from Quebec by the route of the River Richelieu, to prevent the post at Crown Point from falling into the hands of the English. General Johnson judged it prudent to advance no farther at present towards Cham-

* *William Johnson* was one of the most remarkable men then in the English colonies. He was of Irish extraction, and had enlisted in the army as a private. Subsequently he emigrated to New York and established himself as a settler on the River Mohawk, where he became well known to the Mohawk tribe of Iroquois, who idolised him. By his wonderful address and commanding personal appearance he acquired over the Iroquois generally a very great influence, exceeding that of any other European, not excepting *Joncaire* himself, the favourite and adopted chief amongst the Senecas. In the course of the war, Johnson's relations with the Iroquois enabled him to render services to the British of extreme value on several critical occasions. He was knighted for his services in this campaign. Sir William Johnson figures conspicuously during the war from 1756 to 1760.

plain, and, in the meantime, to strengthen, as much as possible, the position of his camp, while he awaited the course of events.

Some time in the spring, rumours had reached Quebec that the English were meditating an attack upon Crown Point, and that a large force was being collected at Albany for that purpose. Later news intimated that the enemy were within two days' march of Lake Champlain. It was stated that, after effecting the capture of Fort Frederick, at Crown Point, the intention was to march upon Montreal. Although the information proved false in several essential particulars, it had the effect of leading Governor Vaudreuil to insist upon the abandonment of the contemplated expedition against Oswego.* General Dieskau, accordingly, proceeded to Crown Point with a force of three thousand men, including seven hundred regulars, fifteen hundred Canadian militia, and eight hundred savages, of whom nearly one half were converted Iroquois from Sault St Louis and Two Mountains. Informed of the erection of Fort Edward, Dieskau resolved to fall upon it and take it by surprise; and, with that view, moved forward from Crown Point with one half of his army on the 3d of September. On the 7th, when within a few miles of the English fort, the Sault St Louis Indians refused to proceed

* It has been already stated that councils of war were held at Quebec on the arrival of the troops from France. At one of these the capture of Oswego was resolved upon; and the necessary preparations were completed, when the news referred to in the text arrived. De Vaudreuil, supported by what was called the *Canadian* party, insisted that the defence of the route by which the enemy would come to Montreal was of more pressing consequence than the attack of Oswego. Dieskau said that there was time both to take Oswego, on his way southwards, and afterwards to secure Crown Point and the route to Montreal; but his objections were overruled, and the troops destined for the assault of Oswego were dispatched direct to Crown Point.

farther. At the same moment a scout brought word of the approach of a corps of one thousand men, detached by General Johnson from his camp to succour Fort Edward.

Dieskau instantly made arrangements for keeping his own men out of sight amongst the trees and bushes, until the unsuspecting enemy should pass by, and afford him an opportunity of attacking them on the flank and in the rear. His savage auxiliaries, however, again foiled him at the critical moment, by allowing themselves to be seen before the appointed time.* The English, perceiving they were about to fall into an ambuscade, immediately retired in some confusion upon their camp at the lake, followed up by Dieskau, who now resolved to bring on a general conflict with the whole of Johnson's army.

General Johnson had, in the meantime, intrenched his position, and protected it by felling trees to form a sort of breastwork, from behind which his cannon and musketry could be used with deadly effect. The Sault St Louis Indians, as before, hung back. The French Canadians, also, were intimidated by the unexpected strength of the position they were ordered to assail. Dieskau's regulars, supported by a few Abenaquis, encountered the fire of the enemy. In the unequal conflict which ensued, and which lasted several hours, the French regulars nearly all perished. The New Englanders, in the end, came out from behind their breastworks and drove off their besiegers with great slaughter. The defeated troops, in their flight from the field of battle, had not proceeded far before they encoun-

* The conduct of these savages was based upon their determination not to fight against their own kindred who were serving in Johnson's army. They showed themselves in order to warn their countrymen of their danger. Dieskau, before he left Montreal, had his suspicions excited in regard to the fidelity of his Indians; but, on mentioning the matter to Vaudreuil, he was assured that his fears were groundless.

tered another body of New England militia, who were hastening to Johnson's assistance. Another fight took place, which ended in the complete rout of the French and their Indian auxiliaries. Only a small remnant of the corps of picked men, whom Dieskau had brought with him from Crown Point, succeeded in effecting their return to that post. The British loss was upwards of two hundred killed and one hundred wounded. General Johnson was slightly wounded, Dieskau mortally.* The loss on the side of the French has been variously reported at from seven hundred to one thousand men.

236. After the battle, Johnson was urged to resume his march against the French fort at Crown Point, and also against another, *Carillon* (*Ticonderoga*), recently constructed between Lake Champlain and Lake George. He declined, however, to pursue that course, as his men were but poorly armed, and unfit at present to be opposed to the well-equipped and disciplined French regulars, with whom they would have to contend. On the site of the recent conflict he caused a fort to be built, which he named Fort *William Henry*. Fort Edward was placed in as good a state of defence as was possible. Fort William Henry was also furnished with supplies, and a garrison of New England militia. The value of the position named by the French *Carillon*, and known by the Indian name of Ticon-

* Dieskau, while leaning against a tree during the assault, suffering from a wound he had received, was fired at, and again wounded, by a renegade French Canadian who had deserted some years before. After the battle he was carried to General Johnson's own tent, and very kindly treated. He wrote several letters while in the English camp, giving a description of his proceedings. He attributed his disaster to the treachery of the Sault St Louis Indians, and the timidity of the French Canadian corps. Johnson had the greatest difficulty in saving Dieskau's life from the Iroquois, who claimed him as their own prisoner. He lived to return to France, but never recovered from his wounds.

deroga, became more highly appreciated in course of the operations under Dieskau. Dieskau had fortified it to some extent, and his beaten troops retired to it on their way to Crown Point. Governor Vaudreuil accordingly directed Fort Carillon to be erected on that site.

237. From the narrative of the operations of 1755, which has been given in the foregoing articles, it will be seen that the general result was not unfavourable to the French colonists. Three out of the four English expeditions had failed in the accomplishment of their purposes—for the French remained undisputed masters of the Ohio valley, and they still held the positions at Niagara and Crown Point. Their success against Braddock's force enabled them to operate against the undefended frontiers of Pennsylvania and Virginia. During the winter of 1755, and the early spring of 1756, their war-parties, issuing from Fort Duquesne, ravaged the settlements of the English colonists most cruelly, killing or carrying away captive, it is said, more than a thousand persons.

But, on the other hand, the advance of Sir William Johnson, followed by Dieskau's defeat, had enabled the English to establish themselves at Fort William Henry, as well as at Fort Edward, so as to menace the French supremacy in the direction of Lake Champlain; and the English still held their former position at Chouagen or Oswego. Moreover, the terrible raids upon their defenceless frontiers, referred to above, excited the feelings of the English colonists to the highest pitch of animosity.

In the meantime, the great Prime-Minister William Pitt was about to infuse into the management of affairs in England a spirit which foreboded the worst results to the French interests in America.

238. In Canada the situation of affairs had become very

embarrassing, through scarcity of food and other causes. The cultivation of the soil had been greatly neglected. All articles of consumption, including the necessaries of life, were extremely dear. The Intendant Bigot and his agents, *Pean, Cadet, Descheneaux*, continued their mal-administration of the affairs appertaining to commerce and the distribution of the supplies imported for the King's service, unchecked by Governor Vaudreuil, who, though himself an honourable man, was weak and blind in regard to the real nature of the proceedings of those officials. Bigot, as Intendant, had the power to fix the prices of all articles of consumption. A company at Quebec, of which the other three persons named were principal parties or managers, imported commodities from France, while they bought up nearly all the grain in the country parts. With them the people had to deal afterwards, as buyers, at enormously increased charges.* Bigot,—alleged to have been personally interested in the company's gains,—purchased of them many things required for the public service. In fact, he has been generally accused, by the letter-writers of that day, and by those who have handed down to us the most reliable records, of having purposely understated the necessary supplies in his requisitions or lists transmitted annually to the authorities in France. The consequence was that the supplies for the King's service in the colony required to be supplemented by purchases out of the company's magazines. In this way gigantic frauds

* The company's operations were carried on both at Quebec and Montreal, in each of which cities they had an extensive magazine, derisively styled by the people, "*Friponne.*" The scarcity in Montreal was not so great as at Quebec. In this city the citizens could procure bread only from the company's stores. They came in crowds to the authorised bakers, by whom it was distributed to the people, jostling each other, and contending for the loaves as they were brought out of the ovens.

were perpetrated, tending to paralyse the exertions of the honest defenders of the colony, while serving to enrich a few individuals. At the time of which we now write, the public debt of France, on account of her Canadian colony, was no less than eighty millions of francs, while the annual cost had increased from one or two to eleven or twelve millions—a rate of expenditure which soon afterwards was augmented to about twenty millions.

In a future page it will be necessary to revert to the proceedings of Bigot and others intrusted with the distribution of supplies, on account of the disastrous influence which they exercised on the destinies of Canada.

239. The English colonists, during the winter of 1755, had traced out for themselves extensive plans of operation for the ensuing season, having substantially the same objects as those of the preceding year. New generals from England, and additional troops, were to come out to their aid.

Eventually a considerable force was assembled at Albany under *General Abercrombie*, who appears to have remained almost inactive throughout the summer and autumn of 1756, waiting the arrival of his superior officer, Lord Loudon. He dispatched one detachment under Colonel Winslow, with orders to reinforce and strengthen the defences of Forts Edward and William Henry, and to make some other arrangements preparatory to a movement upon the French positions at Carillon and Crown Point. Another detachment, under Colonel Bradstreet, was sent to conduct a large convoy of provisions and munitions of war to Oswego. The subsequent siege and capture of this place by the French formed the principal military operation of the season.

240. After Dieskau's defeat, the French officers reported

that their effective regular force was reduced to sixteen hundred and eighty men. They also wrote to France very discouragingly respecting the colony, which they said would be ruined unless abundant reinforcements of troops and supplies, together with an able commander-in-chief, were sent out to its succour. The French Government, in response to the representations of Governor Vaudreuil, supported by those of the war-commissary of the colony, *M. Doreil*, sent troops to the number of one thousand men, provisions, and thirteen hundred thousand francs in money. These acceptable reinforcements arrived at Quebec in the month of May 1756.

241. But the most important addition made at this time to the strength of the colony, and to its means of protracting its gallant struggle for existence during the ensuing four years, consisted in the quality of the chief military officers who arrived with the reinforcements. *M. de Montcalm*, a man of high cultivation and literary tastes, as well as a soldier who had seen much service in Europe, came to replace General Dieskau, as commander-in-chief and lieutenant-general of the King's forces. In his younger days he had served thirteen years in a regiment of which his father was colonel, and had become a colonel himself at the age of thirty-one years, after which, by successive promotions, he rose to the rank he held in Canada. He was at this time forty-four years old, in the prime of life, vigorous and active in his habits, sagacious, possessing an extraordinary memory, and an enthusiastic lover of his profession. A.D. 1756.

With Montcalm came the *Chevalier de Levis, M. de Bougainville*, and *M. de Bourlamaque*, all officers of distinguished merit, and personally much attached to their chief, whom they supported with unwavering fidelity until

his death and the ruin of their cause put an end to their military career in Canada.

242. The views expressed by Montcalm and his principal officers, in their first communications or reports to France from Canada, were very unfavourable in regard to the prospects of the colony.* After remarking upon the disorders which existed, Montcalm says of the country in which military operations were to be conducted—"We have here no other roads than rivers abounding in falls and rapids, and the lakes, whose waves render navigation often impracticable."

243. General Montcalm soon informed himself of the military position of the colony. He resolved, while prose-

* In some of his earlier letters Montcalm made special mention of the following *catalogue* of unfavourable circumstances:—*disorder*, more or less, in all parts of the administration; *dishonesty* on the part of most of the public functionaries; *weakness* of the Governor; *jealousies* and *ill-feeling* amongst the officers of the three branches of the military service—those of the regular army, of the colony troops, and of the militia; *manœuvres* of the Intendant and his agents; *controversies* between the civil and military officials; the formation of *two parties* in the colony; and *the difficulties attendant upon warfare in an immense country without roads, covered by forests, and having inconsiderable forces.*

M. de Levis wrote to the same purport as the above in July 1756, adding, "We are obliged to use great precautions and to exercise the greatest patience with regard to the savages, who will act as they please; and this we are obliged in most cases to put up with."

The Chevalier de Montreuil, who had come out the year before, writes, in June 1756:—"The officers of the several branches do not love each other. It is incredible what an amount of luxury reigns in some circles in this country, and how the King is plundered. To all the French who come out, it is revolting to witness that; also the Governor and Intendant are too lax where great severity should be used. There is no management. As for the *Canadian*, he is very good for '*la petite guerre*,' very brave behind a tree, but very timid when he is in open ground; he is independent in his habits, but vicious, lying, and boastful."

It should be mentioned, in connection with the above representations, that the opposite, or *Canadian party*, professed to deplore "the climax of despotism to which the military service had come."

cuting the measures already initiated by the Governor for the defence of Niagara, Carillon, and Crown Point, to assail Oswego. The preparations necessarily required a few weeks' time, and, during the interval, he endeavoured to make such dispositions of the French forces at Lake Champlain as should prevent the English at Albany from sending assistance to the place he was about to attack. De Levis, appointed to command at Lake Champlain, managed with great ability to execute Montcalm's wishes, by sending out frequent detachments, as if for offensive operations, and by other expedients for occupying the attention of the English commanders.*

244. A force of three thousand men and the other requisite means of attack were prepared at Frontenac, where M. de Bourlamaque had been stationed.

When all was in readiness, the lake was crossed on August 10, and on the 13th, Bourlamaque, in charge of the siege under Montcalm, attacked and captured one of the outworks called Fort Ontario. This was occupied, and its guns turned against the principal position. At the same time the Governor's brother conducted a force to the adjacent elevated ground, which commanded Oswego, and planted a battery there. The garrison of Fort Oswego—which in reality included three works, viz., Fort George and Fort Ontario, in addition to the principal fort—consisted of one thousand eight hundred men under Colonel

* De Levis had about three thousand men, including a number of regulars. English writers have complained of Abercrombie's inaction while Oswego was in so much danger. Bradstreet had even brought back word to Abercrombie that preparations against Oswego were being made. De Levis reported—"All this has so taken up their attention, and I have watched them so closely, that they have not been able to undertake anything against me, nor to send succour to Chouagen." Abercrombie had previously sent supplies thither.

Mercer, and was well supplied with provisions and munitions of war. Nevertheless it held out only a few days, and capitulated on the 16th, after the loss of its commander and about a hundred and sixty men. The victors, who had lost less than one hundred men, were astonished at the facility with which so numerous a garrison surrendered so valuable a post, having more than one hundred guns and mortars, as well as six sloops of war to assist in the defence.*

The capture of this important place raised the reputation of General Montcalm amongst the Canadians and Indians. Not altogether free from at least one of the failings attributed by the French officers of the time to the Canadians, he wrote to the French Minister of War in the months of August and September, intimating how completely he had secured the confidence both of the militia and the savages. "When I travel," he says, "or when I move about the camp, it is with the air of a *tribune of the people.*"

At the same time the General's first experience of the qualities of the Canadians on active military service was not favourable, since in his letter of the 28th of August he writes to the Minister:—"They know neither subordination nor discipline. I might have them for grenadiers in six months, but then I would have to beware of the fate of the unfortunate Dieskau for listening to proposals in favour of the Canadians, who believe themselves to be on

* Two hundred boats and large stores of provisions and ammunition, together with 450,000 francs in money, fell into the hands of the French.

Montcalm and his officers were very desirous of conciliating the Indians. Accordingly they were less strict in preventing atrocities from being perpetrated on the prisoners taken. Many were plundered, massacred, and scalped. The *Iroquois* desired the destruction of the fortifications, and were gratified by Montcalm's acceding to their wishes, instead of occupying them with French troops.

all points the first nation in the world, and the estimable Governor is a native of the country. But the Canadians are satisfied with me, only their officers fear me and would be glad if I could go back to France and be no longer their general—and I also." *

* It is only just towards the Canadians, of whom General Montcalm here speaks so severely, to append the contrary testimony of Governor Vaudreuil. The latter says, in a letter addressed to *M. de Michault*, Minister of Marine, dated October 23, 1756:—"I have not much to report of the regular troops. They are generally good, and I am persuaded they would distinguish themselves in action. In the expedition to Chouagen the enemy gave them no opportunity. It was only Canadians and savages, with a few colony troops, that attacked the forts. The cannon was served by our militia. The officers of the regulars are more for the defensive than the offensive. They have even said they have never made '*la petite guerre*,' and that they had not come to this country for that. . . . The lofty air which their officers put on towards our Canadians has a bad effect. What can soldiers think of our Canadians? These are obliged to carry those *Messieurs* on their shoulders across the cold streams, wounding their feet on the rocks in doing so, and, if they happen to make a false step, they are treated with indignity. M. de Montcalm is of so lively a temperament that he goes to the extremity of even *striking* the Canadians. I have recommended to him to see that his officers treat the Canadians properly. But how can he restrain his subordinates when he cannot moderate his own *vivacité*? Such is the unworthy treatment of our Canadians. They merit much better. On all occasions they give proofs of their courage. They make all the *reconnaissances;* and if, among the provisions there should happen to be any damaged or bad, the Canadians are obliged to eat them, while the regulars have the good served out. The Canadians quit their lands and their families to take part in the defence of the colony; they spend their vigour in navigating the *batteaux*, by means of which the troops are transported and the armies and stations provisioned. They do all this cheerfully, always ready for work. But they have made known to me their dissatisfaction. It has been only their blind obedience to my orders which has, on many occasions, and especially at Chouagen, prevented them openly showing their sense of the treatment they experienced. The savages also have complained bitterly of the haughty style in which M. de Montcalm treated them at Chouagen. Had they not been influenced by my brother they would have become enemies to the colony when they saw themselves obliged to abandon their *petit pillage* to the avarice of the grenadiers. All the savages, including even the Abenaquis, Nipissings,

245. Montcalm in person, before and after the operations at Oswego, superintended the works at Carillon and Crown Point, the former of which was destined soon to be the scene of one of the most bloody encounters of the war. The expulsion of the English from Lake Ontario would tend to concentrate their attacks upon the French positions at Lake Champlain, and Montcalm was the more desirous of rendering these as formidable as possible.

246. No important military operations occurred during the remainder of the season.* But the fall of Oswego had damaged the influence of the English with the Indians. These fickle people, ever ready to side with the strongest, could never be relied on as allies when reverses occurred. Sir William Johnson's personal influence alone prevented the Iroquois from entirely deserting the English cause. The Senecas and Oneidas broke their pledge of neutrality, and sent their warriors to serve in Montcalm's army.

247. In the middle of the ensuing winter the Governor's brother, M. Rigaud de Vaudreuil, accompanied by M. de Longeuil, led a column of one thousand four hundred Canadians and savages on an attempt to surprise Fort William Henry. Excelling in that species of service, and

and Algonquins of St Francis and Becancourt, who have at all times been our faithful allies, have not scrupled to inform me, after the Chouagen campaign, that they would go anywhere I desired them, provided I did not put them under the orders of M. de Montcalm. They have told me positively they cannot endure the *vivacités* of M. de Montcalm. With him I desire to maintain always perfect union and good understanding; but I shall be obliged in the next campaign to make arrangements for securing to our Canadians and savages the treatment to which their zeal and services entitle them."

* The system of harassing the colonists on the frontiers of New York, Pennsylvania, and Virginia, by means of small parties of Indians and French Canadians, was kept up during the autumn and winter, and, indeed, did not cease until 1758, when the French became unable to sustain it longer.

in the use of snowshoes, the hope of the party was to take the garrison by surprise. It was the last considerable winter expedition attempted to be made from Canada after the fashion of the *Le Moynes*, the *Rouvilles*, the *Hertels*, and other leaders of former days.

The enterprise, however, failed, as the garrison was found to be on the alert, and too strong for the assailants to venture to attack.*

CHAPTER XXV.

CHANGE OF PLANS OF CAMPAIGN BY THE ENGLISH COLONISTS—LOUISBOURG — MONTCALM'S EXPEDITION AGAINST FORT GEORGE — SIEGE AND CAPTURE OF FORT GEORGE—VIOLATION OF THE ARTICLES OF CAPITULATION BY THE INDIANS—MASSACRE—LETTERS OF BOUGAINVILLE, MONTCALM, AND VAUDREUIL—FAMINE IN CANADA—GAMBLING AT QUEBEC AND MONTREAL.

248. THE past successes of the French had given them the supremacy in the valley of the Ohio and on Lake Ontario. It remained to accomplish, by means A.D. 1757. of renewed exertions and decisive measures, a similar result in the direction of Lake Champlain, so as to drive back the English from the advanced positions into which they had intruded at Fort William Henry and Fort Edward. This object now occupied the earnest attention of Governor Vaudreuil and General Montcalm. Their designs were favoured by a change of plan which the English colonists adopted at this time.

* The sheds, outbuildings, and a number of rafts and boats near the fort, with other property, were burnt. Twenty-seven men were lost.

War had been at length formally declared between the mother countries. Their Governments were more solicitous about combating each other in Europe, on the ocean, and on the coast of North America, than they were about assisting the colonists in their quarrels respecting frontiers and inland boundaries. It was, in fact, proposed in England that Louisbourg should be reduced, and that the forces of the colonies should co-operate in the undertaking.* In January 1757 a conference of colonial Governors, attended by the English commander-in-chief, Lord Loudon, was held at Boston to discuss the matter. The result was to defer, for the time, offensive operations against Canada, and to confine their proceedings to the defence of their frontiers, and the maintenance of the posts which they now held. With this view it was agreed to assign to subordinate officers, Colonel Bouquet, Colonel Stanwyx, General Webb, and others, the military protection of the several colonies, while the commander-in-chief, with six regiments of regulars, and some colonial troops, should take part in the reduction of Louisbourg. The safety of Fort Edward was provided for, and Colonel Monro, with two thousand men, was placed in charge of Fort William Henry.

249. It is not necessary to enter into details respecting the expedition to Louisbourg. It is enough to say here, that, although Lord Loudon's force was joined at Halifax by a powerful fleet and army from England, yet the under-

* The English Government, when it called upon the American colonists to support what might be called more properly imperial undertakings than colonial against the power of France, and especially when the plans of procedure were devised and laid down in England, agreed to reimburse them their outlay. Encouraged by this, and desirous of co-operating as much as possible in breaking up the French power in America, the colonies of Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New Hampshire subsequently agreed to support England with fifteen thousand men, to be ready for service by the month of May 1758.

taking was abandoned when it was found that the means of defence at Louisbourg had been augmented by the arrival there of a strong naval force from France. In the meantime Montcalm took advantage of the absence of most of the English regular troops to concentrate seven thousand five hundred men in the vicinity of Fort William Henry.

250. Many accounts, differing in some essential particulars, have been published of the siege and capture of this post, and of the terrible tragedy which occurred after the legitimate military proceedings had terminated. From the most reliable of those accounts, we learn that Montcalm's force included about 3300 regulars and artillerymen, and 2900 French Canadians, with eighteen or nineteen hundred savages, belonging to thirty-three different tribes.* These last had been gained over to join his standard more by the hopes of plunder and the prospect of indulging their bloodthirsty instincts than by any cause of quarrel with the English, or any particular love of the French. Their value depended, in part, upon the services they could render as scouts and spies. But on this occasion, as previously at Oswego, they were useful owing to the effect produced upon the English on beholding them among the besiegers, and hearing their savage yells. The English soldiers regarded them with feelings of horror, knowing what their fate would be should they fall into the hands of those merciless enemies, wounded or as prisoners. The tomahawk and the scalping-knife were to them more dreaded implements of war than the rifle and sword; the

*Bougainville's report to the Minister of War makes the savages number 1806, with seventeen French officers, eleven interpreters, and three priests. Governor Vaudreuil reports two thousand. Montcalm, probably exaggerating his number of savage auxiliaries, intimated in his letter of August 14, 1757, addressed to Lord Loudon, that there were three thousand.

cries and yells of infuriated savages were more alarming than the roar of artillery. The French officers were well acquainted with these circumstances, which they turned to account as much as possible.*

Of the savages who took part in the siege of Fort William Henry, upwards of eight hundred were of the class called "*domiciliés*," Indians from Sault St Louis, Two Mountains, Becancour, and other settlements occupied by converted Indians in Canada. They were accompanied by French officers, interpreters, and three priests; who, it appears, had abundance of occupation with their savage flocks, as it is recorded that a whole day "scarcely afforded time enough to confess them."

About the end of July the whole French force destined for the attack on Fort William Henry was assembled at Carillon. Thence it was conducted to a point on the margin of Lake George, where five hundred boats and barges were lying in readiness. In these the cannon for the siege, munitions of war, and supplies, with upwards of two-thirds of the army, were embarked for the purpose of passing up the lake, while the remainder, under M. de Levis, marched by land. On the 2d of August the two divisions were re-united on the margin of a small bay not far from the English position. Next day scouts brought word that the garrison was on the alert; and, in confirmation of this report, the French heard the sound of artillery discharged within the enemy's lines, some miles distant.

The English position was defended by about three thousand men, of whom five hundred occupied the fort, and

* The French writers frequently mention the "*épouvante*" and "*frayeur inconcevable*" of the English soldiers in regard to the savages. Amongst those present at the siege of Fort William Henry, there were Iroquois belonging to the Senecas and Oneidas. They formed the more numerous portion of the Indian auxiliaries.

the rest were posted in an intrenched camp hard by. A road led southward to Fort Edward, where General Webb was stationed with a considerable body of troops. The whole region was then one vast forest, and the surface of the intervening country so covered with obstacles, that it was impossible for Webb to come promptly to the succour of the garrison, had he felt disposed to do so. He wrote a letter to Colonel Monro, while the siege was going on, to inform him that aid could not be afforded until the arrival of reinforcements of colonial militia, which were expected daily. In the meantime, Monro was counselled by his superior officer to hold out as long as possible, and if compelled to surrender to secure the best terms.*

Montcalm had so arranged his advance upon William Henry, and so disposed his forces around it, that he could at any moment march to meet Webb, in case of an attempt to relieve the garrison.

According to custom, the savages displayed their numbers, and commenced a noisy discharge of fire-arms in the open ground outside the fort. They had already surprised a foraging party of the British, of whom they scalped forty, in addition to a larger number of their militiamen, with whom they had similarly dealt some time before, between William Henry and Fort Edward. Montcalm, in fact, made every possible use of his Indian auxiliaries to intimidate the besieged, while he professedly consulted their chiefs about his measures, for fear they should desert him, or act in a way to disarrange his plans. On the 3d of August he formally summoned Monro to surrender, with

* Montcalm's scouts intercepted a letter to this effect from General Webb; it was suffered to reach its destination in order to discourage Monro and induce him to surrender. Webb had paid a visit to Fort William Henry, and inspected the defences some time before the besiegers arrived.

an accompanying intimation, that if once his batteries opened fire, it might be impossible to restrain his ferocious Indians from their customary cruelties. Two days after, he communicated to the British commander the letter alluded to above, in order to convince him of the hopelessness of his condition, as regarded reinforcements from General Webb.

Monro replied gallantly in terms of defiance. His energetic adversary, satisfied that his own hopes of success depended in a great measure upon the celerity of his proceedings, caused a destructive fire to be directed against the fort and the intrenched camp outside. In the intervals between the salvos of artillery the savages made the shores of the lake and the adjacent forest resound with their yells.

The brave defender of the fort resisted as long as his guns, ammunition, and provisions held out, and as long as there was hope of relief from Webb. But on the morning of the 9th, a white flag was displayed on the fort, and an officer sent out to propose articles of capitulation. Montcalm, in reply, declared that he must consult the Indian chiefs before acceding to any terms, desiring that these should pledge their wild followers to the observance of the conditions that might be framed.

On the same day, the English garrison, conformably to the articles of capitulation, moved into the intrenched camp, preparatory to retiring upon Fort Edward. They had lost about three hundred and fifty, killed and wounded. The prisoners exceeded two thousand five hundred, bound by the terms of the capitulation not to serve against France during the ensuing eighteen months. A detachment of three hundred French troops, with officers and interpreters, as well as two chiefs belonging to each of the various tribes, were to accompany them as an escort to Fort

Edward, and to assure them, on the retreat, from molestation by the savages. It had also been stipulated that, between the time of the surrender of the fort and that of the commencement of the retreat, the Indian auxiliaries should be kept apart in certain quarters assigned to them. There was to be no pillage allowed—no attacks by Indians upon officers or men of the captive host. Bougainville, who was employed by Montcalm to reduce the conditions of surrender into writing, had visited the English quarters for that purpose. In his words, the chief particulars of the deplorable incidents which followed shall be narrated:—

"Before returning to the trenches, I had taken, according to my instructions, the greatest care to direct all spirituous liquors among the stores to be destroyed, and to make the English sensible of the importance of this precautionary measure. At noon the garrison moved out from the fort into the intrenched camp, where they were joined by the French detachment, officers, and interpreters, who were to be their escort and protection until their retirement to Fort Edward. M. de Bourlamaque took possession of the captured post, with the troops who had served in the trenches. He placed guards over the powder-magazine and the provisions. The rest was abandoned to pillage, which it was impossible to prevent.

"In spite of all precautions, the savages penetrated into the intrenchments occupied by the English, and commenced plundering amongst the effects of the officers and men, who offered some resistance. In the great disorder that ensued, acts of violence were committed. Montcalm and his officers employed prayers and menaces, aided by the interpreters, in order to put an end to this infraction of the capitulation. The escort was increased, and some semblance of order re-established.

"The English, dreading a renewal of savage intrusions, undertook to set out on the march before our detachment could be prepared for departure. Some of their soldiers, in spite of the advice they had received on this subject (and to conciliate the Indians), gave the savages spirits. What in the world can hold in check two thousand savages, of thirty-three different nations, intoxicated with liquor? Abenaquis, who had been in Acadia, and who pretended that, while there, they had suffered from the cruel proceedings of the English, commenced the disorder; and the others soon followed the example. They precipitated themselves upon the garrison, which, in place of showing a bold front, took fright and fled. The panic spread amongst them as pillage and slaughter went on. The savages killed about twenty,* and took prisoners five or six hundred. All the French officers, and amongst them, M. de Montcalm, M. de Levis, Bourlamaque, and Rigaud de Vaudreuil, exerted themselves, at the risk of their lives, to save the fugitives. In the end order was restored. Four hundred of the prisoners were rescued, and subsequently sent on to Fort Edward; while, of the remaining two hundred, whom the Indians carried off to Montreal, the greater part were ransomed by Governor Vaudreuil and sent to Halifax, at great cost to the King of France.

"M. de Montcalm took the precaution of writing letters to General Webb and Lord Loudon, in order to prevent the responsibility of these disorders being laid upon the French, and to anticipate their being made a pretext by the English for failing to observe the terms of capitulation on their part!" †

* Some accounts represent that from one thousand to one thousand five hundred fell victims to the ferocity of their savage assailants.

† The King of England, when all the facts of the case were made known,

The French general had addressed a letter, dated 14th August 1757, to Lord Loudon, as stated in Bougainville's report. In it Montcalm states that Colonel Monro's honourable defence of his post had led him to accord honourable terms of capitulation—which, he adds, "would have been strictly executed if your soldiers had not furnished rum to the savages, and if they had marched forth in good order, and had not taken alarm at our Indians, which encouraged these to take advantage of their opportunity." Montcalm's brief statement of the particulars accords substantially with the report of Bougainville and the letter of Governor Vaudreuil addressed to M. de Paulney, Minister of Marine, on the same subject. But it should be mentioned that their accounts are far from agreeing with the statements of English officers and writers respecting the number of those who fell victims to the ferocity of Montcalm's Indians.

Such, in substance, was the victory of the French at Fort William Henry, and such were the leading particulars of "*the Massacre of Fort George*," which has been justly regarded as one of the most deplorable incidents recorded in the annals of American warfare.*

refused to ratify the terms of the capitulation entered into between Colonel Monro and General Montcalm.

* In some of the narratives of the "Fort George Massacre" by English writers, the conduct of Montcalm and his officers is severely criticised. Officers who witnessed the proceedings stated that the protection afforded was merely nominal, and that the savages with impunity killed the English in the very tents of the French. One writer of the name of *Carver*, who himself escaped with difficulty, says that the French officers neglected taking the precautions stipulated for in favour of the lives of the prisoners, of whom, out of upwards of two thousand, not more than five hundred are stated to have been saved from being massacred or carried off by the savages. Some of the French officers ascribed the results to the charge of Vaudreuil, for not having insisted upon better discipline amongst the auxiliaries. Montcalm's force was strong enough to have enforced upon the savages the observance of the articles of capitulation The expression

251. After his victory on Lake George, Montcalm was unable to prosecute his march upon Fort Edward. His army was almost worn out by fatigue and the use of inferior provisions; he had no oxen or horses to transport the cannon; and the food, bad as it was in quality, had become scarce; moreover, in view of the scarcity then prevailing in Canada, he was under the necessity of sending away the militia to attend to the harvest.

Under these circumstances he contented himself with destroying the fort and intrenchments recently occupied by the English. His troops were then distributed amongst the garrisons at Carillon, Crown Point, and the military posts along the Richelieu, between which the work of completing roads was carried on during the remainder of the season.

252. In the meantime, the troops of Lord Loudon returned from Halifax. But no further military operations of a regular kind were prosecuted in 1757 on either side.

253. Before winter set in, the case of Canada, owing to various causes already mentioned, became truly deplorable. The harvest proved very deficient both in quantity and quality. By February 1758 the scarcity which had prevailed was converted into a famine. We learn from the reports of French officers, addressed to the Ministers at Paris, that "the people are perishing of want. The Acadian refugees, during the last four months, have had no other food than horse-flesh and dried fish, instead of bread. More than three hundred of them have perished by starvation. The Canadians have only a quarter of a pound of bread per day. Horse-flesh is six sous a pound. A soldier

"Massacre of Fort *William Henry*" would be more correct, as Fort *George* did not exist until two years after, when General Amherst caused the latter to be constructed on a site near to that of Fort William Henry.

receives half a pound of bread a day, and his weekly allowance of other food is reduced to three pounds of beef, three pounds of horse-flesh, two pounds of peas, and two pounds of dried fish." By the month of April the famine became very severe, and the daily allowance of bread to the people was reduced to two ounces. "Everywhere a horrible dearth existed. In the month of May there remained scarcely any meat or bread. Beef and flour could not be bought for twenty-five sous per pound each, and gunpowder (needed for the chase) was at the rate of four francs."

To add to the general horror with which such a state of affairs must have inspired the mind of every thoughtful person in the colony, the conduct and modes of living practised in some circles were in strange contrast with the prevailing symptoms of distress. Reckless extravagance, whose only visible means of support consisted in a heartless system of robbery and misappropriation of the public resources, reigned in the private habitations of Bigot and his coadjutors.* Gambling and immorality infected the atmosphere in which these people breathed, with little or no attempt at disguise. The officers of the army and marine service were drawn into the vortex. As has been remarked to have frequently occurred in the world's history, in other communities, on a greater or less scale of magnitude, when a ruinous crisis was at hand, everything seemed to foreshadow the early fall of the colony.

An official of the time wrote—"At Bigot's residence the play was such as to frighten the most determined gamblers. Bigot himself would join in games at hazard with *ten, fifteen,*

* *Cadet* and *Pean*, as well as Bigot, lived in great style and luxury, supporting many lackeys, chambermaids, &c. According to arrangements made by Governor Vaudreuil, large numbers of savages were provisioned at Montreal, Three Rivers, and Quebec. At the last-named city, the cost of food for the savages exceeded that of maintaining the citizens.

thirty, and even *forty* persons, losing perhaps two hundred thousand francs. While play was going on at Quebec in Bigot's house, they gambled likewise at M. de Vaudreuil's in Montreal. The King had forbidden games of hazard, but his orders were openly disobeyed. Montcalm was indignant at these scandalous proceedings, and made representations on the subject. He feared to see all the resources of his officers swallowed up by these games of hazard carried to excess."

In the course of the spring of 1758, the severity of the famine was mitigated through the arrival of ships from France laden with flour and provisions. These vessels had narrowly escaped capture by the numerous English cruisers, which rendered the communications between the colony and Europe extremely difficult. At the same time, the preparations for another campaign, destined to be more desperately contested than any preceding one, put an end to some of the social evils of which mention has been made in this chapter.

CHAPTER XXVI.

CAMPAIGN OF 1758.

254. THE bad success of the British arms in America during the season of 1757 having occasioned great dissatisfaction in England, the Ministry, at the head of which was William Pitt, recalled Lord Loudon, and appointed a number of excellent officers to commands. Amongst these were General *Amherst*, commander-in-chief, Brigadier-General *James Wolfe*, and Lord Howe.

It was enjoined upon the colonial Governments to raise

as many troops as possible for service in the campaign of 1758, and the call was responded to at once by offers from Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New Hampshire, to furnish, at least, fifteen thousand men. In course of the winter, preparations were made for resuming operations in the same directions as before—Louisbourg in Cape Breton, Carillon and Crown Point on Lake Champlain, and Duquesne on the Ohio. But now the views of the British were no longer limited to considerations about colonial frontiers. Having the command of the ocean, and the ability to place far superior forces in the field, the Government, with Pitt at its head, contemplated nothing short of the extinction of French power in America. It is probable, in fact, that at this time the better informed and more sagacious among the authorities in Canada, learning the intentions of the English to direct against them operations on a greater scale of magnitude than had ever been witnessed before, began to perceive that the struggle would now be for the maintenance of a mere footing on their own soil. It is certain, from the desponding tone of the letters of Montcalm and others, addressed to the French Ministry at this period, that the dreams of generations of Frenchmen about establishing the transatlantic "*Empire of New France*" were passing away for ever.

255. Louisbourg fell into the hands of the English after a siege and a spirited resistance, which lasted from the 7th to the 26th of June 1758. General Wolfe, A.D. 1758. on the side of the assailants, and *M. de Drucor*, the commandant of the place, distinguished themselves. The latter, however, was compelled to surrender at discretion, after having endeavoured in vain to obtain terms of capitulation. This was the most important success yet obtained since the war began, for it deprived the French of their only stronghold on

the coast of North America. The fall of Louisbourg placed in the hands of the victors prisoners to the number of five thousand five hundred, eleven ships of war, eleven military standards, together with large quantities of arms, military stores and provisions. In consequence of their victory, the English became undisputed masters of Cape Breton and Isle Royale (Prince Edward's Island).*

256. In the south, *General Forbes*, at the head of fifteen hundred regular troops, and about five thousand militia, marched from Philadelphia in the beginning of July. The expedition was intended to operate against the French in the valley of the Ohio. Nearly four months were spent in surmounting the difficulties of the route across the Alleghanies, as far as the banks of the Monongahela; but a somewhat different route was followed from that which

* The siege and capture of Louisbourg added greatly to the reputation of the British forces. The principal officers employed, Boscawen and Amherst, received the thanks of Parliament.

Wolfe, being then in a subordinate position, was not so honoured, but, as he had given ample proofs of the highest military genius and heroism, was soon after promoted to the rank of major-general.

Wolfe had previously made himself known by his services in Germany and Scotland. At Louisbourg he completely gained the hearts of all by the promptitude, daring, and energy with which he executed the boldest plans of Amherst, and the admiral. "Chosen by Amherst to head the troops at Fresh Water Cove, he was the first to leap ashore and scale the cliffs, exposed to the fire of masked batteries and crowds of musketeers. He then led a detachment through the woods, amidst ambuscades of lurking savages, a distance of six miles, to a point where he erected a battery commanding an important outpost of the French. Next, after tracing out lines for batteries near the sea-shore, he repulsed a sortie at the head of the Highlanders and Light Infantry, and then seized another important outpost. In short, whenever there were hard blows, difficulty, and dangers, Wolfe was always in the foremost rank—all being ready to follow and serve one who had gained the affection of the whole army, from the general down to the rudest soldier." Such was the young general who, a year later, was destined to lose his life in the execution of an exploit still more decisive than the taking of Louisbourg.

passed directly through the scene of the reverses formerly suffered by the British forces under Washington* and General Braddock. The commander-in-chief was in bad health, and required to be borne on a litter. In order to accelerate operations, he detached Colonel Bouquet with two thousand men, who, in his turn, sent forward an officer named Grant to reconnoitre. Grant, intrusted with eight hundred Highlanders, and a body of Virginian militia, advanced with the careless confidence so frequently displayed in those days by officers in command of regular troops. *M. de Ligney* was then commandant at Duquesne. With an inferior force he suddenly attacked Grant's detachment, and repulsed it with the loss of upwards of two hundred men. This affair occurred on the 23d of October.

General Forbes, however, on receiving intelligence of the disaster which had befallen his advanced guard, hastened forward with the main body as fast as the nature of the country would permit. The customary tactics of the French, who endeavoured to arrest his progress, by employing small parties of Canadian militia and savages to assail his flanks and rear from secure positions in the forests and defiles, failed this time to prevent the English marching upon Fort Duquesne. De Ligney, judging that further resistance would be hopelessly ineffectual against numbers so superior to his own, decided upon abandoning the fort to the enemy. Having sent away his artillery and ammunition down the Ohio, with a portion of his people, he burnt and destroyed the works as far as possible, and then evacuated his position on the 23d of November, retiring with the remainder of his garrison

* Washington again served in this campaign under Forbes, and in the same capacity as he had formerly under General Braddock.

northward to Fort Machault. The English took possession of the deserted post, the name of which was changed to *Pittsburg*, in honour of the British Minister.

This operation closed the contest between the people of the two nations for supremacy in the valley of the Ohio.

257. In the meantime, several months before the close of the campaign at Fort Duquesne, very important events had transpired near Lake Champlain, and also at Frontenac, on Lake Ontario. Deferring for the present the narrative of a desperate encounter which had taken place on the 8th of July at Carillon, between the forces under Montcalm and General Abercrombie, we shall briefly record the operations conducted by Colonel Bradstreet, which ended in the capture of Fort Frontenac.

Bradstreet, as already stated, had formerly, in 1756, rendered good service in conducting reinforcements to Oswego, and had signally distinguished himself on his retreat from that post to Albany. In July, or early in August, he was intrusted with three thousand colonial troops, whom he led through the Iroquois territory towards Lake Ontario. A few of the Onondagas and Mohawks accompanied the British force across the lake to the north shore, on which they landed on the 25th of August.

The fort, so celebrated in the past history of the French colony, was almost denuded of defenders, owing to the alleged neglect of Governor Vaudreuil, and the absence of the French troops at Lake Champlain.

There were plenty of guns and mortars, but the insignificant garrison of one hundred and twenty soldiers and forty savages could not furnish people to man them. Within two days of his arrival, Colonel Bradstreet had planted his batteries in readiness for commencing the attack, when the commandant, M. de Noyau, surrendered.

Thus this post, the marine arsenal of the French, by means of which they had secured the control of Lake Ontario, fell into the hands of the British, without the loss of a single life to the victors.* The captors found provisions and munitions of war, as well as a large quantity of furs in the fort, and stored up in the vessels then employed to navigate the lake. The whole, excepting the furs, were destroyed, conformably to orders which had been issued by General Abercrombie, and the walls of the fort were razed.

After accomplishing this important service, Colonel Bradstreet reconducted his force across the lake, and retired to the English station at Fort Bull.

258. The expedition against the French at Lake Champlain proved disastrous.

As soon as the arrival of necessary supplies from France in the spring of 1758 would permit, General Montcalm concentrated at Lake Champlain all his best troops. He had concerted with Governor Vaudreuil his plan of operations for opposing Abercrombie's advance northward, which was understood to be directed upon Montreal, in case the positions at Carillon and Crown Point should be carried early enough in the season. Arriving at Carillon on the last day of June, he found that the troops there assembled, together with a corps on its way, under De Levis, to join them, would constitute a total of between three thousand five hundred and four thousand men.

The British had already reached Lake George. They numbered more than sixteen thousand, including nine thousand colonial troops, with five hundred Iroquois, under

* Governor Vaudreuil is severely censured for having neglected to sustain this important position. He was even accused of having sent an order for its evacuation, while he endeavoured to throw the responsibility of its surrender upon the commandant, De Noyau. After the English had retired, Vaudreuil ordered the fortifications to be restored.

Sir William Johnson, and upwards of seven thousand regulars. More than one thousand boats and barges had been prepared near the site of Fort George. In these they embarked and crossed to the foot of Lake George. On landing they were reconnoitred by the French scouts, who informed Montcalm that Abercrombie, with twenty thousand men, was moving rapidly towards Champlain. It had been determined in council at Montreal, that whatever the odds against them might be, the passage of the enemy by Carillon and Crown Point should be vigorously disputed. On July 5 a skirmish occurred, in which Lord Howe was killed. Late on the 7th the main body of Abercrombie's army arrived near the French intrenched position at Carillon, and established itself on ground in the vicinity chosen by Colonel Bradstreet, who had led the vanguard.

According to Montcalm's orders, the position at Carillon had been rendered as difficult of access as possible. By means of felled trees, a formidable *abatis* or breastwork had been thrown up, behind which he marshalled his regiments and militia in divisions, commanded by De Levis, Bourlamaque, Senezergues, and other officers. At different points batteries of cannon were stationed. On this occasion Montcalm had with him no Indian auxiliaries. As Abercrombie's columns advanced to the attack, the Indians on the English side were observed to stand aloof, as if to remain inactive spectators of the coming conflict; but subsequently during the action they kept up a continual fire upon the French.

Abercrombie relied upon his superior numbers, and the excellent quality of his troops to force the position at Carillon *without cannon.* It was open to him by means of flank movements to compel the French to retire, or to wait

for his artillery. He did neither, choosing, instead, to precipitate his soldiers in four strong columns upon the protected front of the French. The consequence was that Montcalm found himself able to repel all the attacks of his opponent. It was a battle in which superiority in number, the utmost valour and obstinacy, and persevering efforts during about five hours, proved unavailing to dislodge a brave foe, commanded by resolute and skilful officers. Six times the British columns endeavoured to penetrate through the formidable barrier from behind which the rifles and cannon of the French were discharged upon them with deadly effect. The carnage was very great amongst the assailants. Some of the attacking corps lost half their numbers, and of the wounded and slain a very large proportion consisted of officers. Astonished at the resistance which he encountered, where he had expected to carry all before him by means of one or two vigorous charges, Abercrombie, towards evening, drew off his troops awhile within the border of the neighbouring forest. At a hasty council of war, held on the spot, no one suggested the expediency of attempting to turn the enemy's position, or of bringing up artillery to clear the way in front. After an hour's interval of rest, the whole strength of the army was united for one more desperate assault. It was made with the same result as before. A loss of nearly two thousand men had been incurred. It seemed useless to continue the attack at such a frightful expense of life. The baffled English General reluctantly ordered a retreat in front of an enemy, whose number was still scarcely one-fourth part of his own.

The discomfited host made for the foot of Lake George, where their boats had been left under a strong guard. On the way, until nightfall, they protected their rear by

skirmishers, who fired upon the Canadian marksmen sent out to observe their movements. Accoutrements, weapons, baggage, and even wounded men, were found next day along the route which had been followed. Next morning General Abercrombie conducted his battalions across the lake to Fort George, within and around which the defeated army intrenched itself.

This important victory was gained by Montcalm with the sacrifice of less than five hundred men.*

The French General and officers were overjoyed at the successful issue of the conflict, and some time elapsed before they could be convinced that all was over. Montcalm had himself anticipated being expelled from his position by means of artillery brought to bear upon it in support of a flank movement, and had made some dispositions for evacuating it, as soon as he should find it untenable. On the day following, when he became assured that Abercrombie had actually retired, he expressed his regret that he had not been provided with a couple of hundred Indians to pursue the retreating army, and to serve as a vanguard to a column of one thousand chosen troops, whom he would have dispatched under M. de Levis. Remarking upon the real weakness of his position, but which had escaped the notice of his opponent, he said, "Had it devolved on me to besiege Carillon, I should have asked but for six mortars and two pieces of artillery."

259. A review of the two preceding articles will serve to show that the two principal events of the campaign of

* A French report of the battle of Carillon, quoted by Garneau and others, makes Montcalm's loss in killed and wounded 375 men and officers. Garneau also says, that although the English admitted their loss to be under 2000, still contemporary French accounts made it amount to between 4000 and 5000. Montcalm himself, in his letter of 12th July 1758, estimated his own loss at 375, and that of the English at nearly 5000.

1758—the capture of Louisbourg and the battle of Carillon —transpired comparatively early in the season, leaving more than three months suitable for military undertakings. Colonel Bradstreet's movement upon Frontenac was ended before the close of August. It may be asked, therefore, why so long a time was suffered to pass without a renewal of warlike operations of any moment, since the campaign in progress under Forbes and M. de Ligney occupied only a small portion of the armed force of either side?

The answer is, it was now the policy of the French to act strictly on the defensive. That course was enjoined upon the authorities of the colony by the ruling powers in France, while it was also necessary on account of the comparative smallness of the number of men whom the colony could equip and maintain in the field. Moreover, the bloody repulse at Carillon had paralysed the very moderate energies and abilities of General Abercrombie. He merely intrenched himself at Fort George, while at the various French posts the troops and militia were holding themselves ready to repel attack. Abercrombie sent dispatches to hasten the arrival of General Amherst from Louisbourg; and by the time this officer joined, and could become acquainted with the precise position of affairs, it was too late in the season to resume the march northward.

The mere loss of men in the recent conflict was of small importance, because the resources of the English enabled them to repair it without difficulty.

260. In November 1758, the troops were withdrawn to their respective winter quarters. During the five following months the leaders had ample leisure to discuss the details of operations proposed for the next season's campaign, which, both in Canada and the English colonies, it was generally believed would bring to an end the contest for

supremacy in America. On the French side disquietude and anxiety prevailed, occasioned, not merely by a knowledge of the superior numbers and resources of the enemy, but, in a great degree, by the deplorable state of internal affairs and official turpitude and mismanagement in the colony, of which mention has already been made in former pages. This subject, highly important in its connection with the downfall of the French *régime* in Canada, will be more fully noticed in the ensuing chapter.

CHAPTER XXVII.

STATE AND PROSPECTS OF THE COLONY MORE CRITICAL AT THE CLOSE OF 1758 THAN EVER BEFORE—CAUSES ENUMERATED—VIRTUAL ABANDONMENT OF THE COLONY BY THE MOTHER COUNTRY—ABSENCE OF HARMONY AMONG PRINCIPAL OFFICIALS AND BETWEEN THE DIFFERENT BRANCHES OF THE PUBLIC SERVICE—MISMANAGEMENT BY BIGOT AND HIS ACCOMPLICES—BAD HARVESTS, EXCESSIVE PRICES AND FAMINE—SENTIMENTS OF MONTCALM AND HIS OFFICERS—CENSUS AND EFFECTIVE FORCE OF THE COLONY—GENERAL PLAN OF DEFENCE.

261. In the course of this history it has been several times recorded that the colony was reduced to the very brink of ruin. Yet on each of those occasions, as we have seen, it was enabled to survive the impending crisis, either through some unforeseen occurrence beyond human control, or through the heroic counsels and actions of leaders refusing to despair of their cause while life remained and a handful of resolute men to maintain a footing on Cape Diamond.*

* Amongst the occasions referred to the following may be named :—The threatened extinction of the colony by the Iroquois in 1660, when the heroism of Dollard and his followers caused those savages to abandon their design, then on the eve of accomplishment; the disastrous position of

But since 1745, and especially in the campaigns of 1755 and subsequent years, the character of colonial warfare had been greatly modified by the introduction of considerable bodies of regular troops. Their employment, if not always successful against the operations of the native militia and savages, yet tended to afford military leaders the grounds of judging more correctly respecting the probable issue of enterprises undertaken on either side. Superior numbers and resources, together with the well-known determination of the English Government and colonists to employ these vigorously in securing the conquest of the French colony, made the case of Canada now, at the close of 1758, more truly critical than it had ever been before. This was clearly perceived by General Montcalm and his principal officers, as well as by the leading functionaries engaged in administering the civil affairs of the colony. Making every allowance for the effect of the battle of Carillon, as proving that the gallant French troops might offer a protracted resistance, yet the substantial results of the campaign of 1758 were in favour of the English. They had established their supremacy in the valley of the Ohio, and had succeeded in destroying Fort Frontenac, in consequence of which suc-

affairs in 1688 and 1689, when the Lachine massacre occurred, and when Frontenac, succeeding De Denonville, resumed the governorship, and became the saviour of the country; the formidable attack upon Quebec in 1690 by the English fleet under Phipps, when that city was defended and the colony was saved by Frontenac; the naval and military expeditions against the colony in 1710 and 1711, when, in the first instance, an unexpected change in the destination of the English fleet and subsequently fearful storms and shipwrecks in the St Lawrence, as well as pestilence and divided counsels in the invading armies, saved Canada without bloodshed to her defenders. The Treaty of Utrecht, in 1713, intervened to deliver Canada from the state of alarm about her safety to which she had been continually subject, and the peace which followed, and lasted for a generation up to 1745, allowed the colonists the repose necessary for their increase in numbers and resources.

cesses a great many of the Indian tribes were induced to desert the French cause. Louisbourg had been captured, and by means of the possession of this stronghold and that of Halifax, now a considerable naval station, the English were able to turn to account their maritime superiority in such a way as to control the approaches to the St Lawrence from the Atlantic, and to render communication between Canada and France both difficult and hazardous.

262. In order to comprehend clearly the position of Canada at this time, and the course of events which led soon afterwards to the overthrow of the French *régime*, it is necessary to advert to other particulars, in addition to those mentioned in the preceding article.

During the autumn and winter of 1758 the English Government, in concert with the colonial authorities, formed plans on a large scale for completing the reduction of Canada. A strong military force was to resume offensive operations against the French positions on Lake Champlain and the River Richelieu, and thence to march upon Montreal. At the same time a powerful fleet and army were to move up the St Lawrence against Quebec. A third expedition was to be directed against Fort Niagara, with the view of destroying the French power in the lake regions, and of breaking up the communications between these and the French headquarters in the east. Moreover, strong detachments were to resume the principal positions south of Lake Ontario, and to capture the line of military posts extending from Lake Erie towards the Ohio.

But while such plans were being matured by the English, the Government of France, more interested in the concerns of European warfare than in the fate of its American colony, sent out from time to time the most discouraging intimations to the Governor and other officials. These were

informed that France had neither men, money, nor provisions to spare for their succour. It was even alleged that, while troops and munitions of war would incur the danger of being intercepted by the English on the passage from France to the St Lawrence, the attempt to forward any considerable reinforcements would only stimulate their enemies to exert themselves more strenuously for the subjugation of Canada. The Governor and General Montcalm were further instructed to confine themselves to defensive measures and to concentrate their resources by abandoning all those distant military stations which, as had been often asserted before, weakened the strength of the colony.

Finally, the French ministers announced that, in view of the difficulties by which France was surrounded in Europe—an exhausted treasury, and her inability to sustain, as heretofore, her proud position among the nations of the world—her policy with respect to New France must be limited to the preservation of a mere "footing on the North American continent."*

* Some of these statements relative to the nature of the French dispatches of this period may seem incredible, or at least exaggerated. But they all admit of proof by reference to original documents preserved at Paris among the archives of the departments of war and marine. The government of Louis XV. had become very corrupt as well as unsuccessful in the war waged in Germany and in the East and West Indies, and the finances had fallen into a state of complete exhaustion. These circumstances furnish some clue to the apparent indifference about furnishing reinforcements adequate to sustain the French cause against the English in America. The then Minister of War, *M. de Bellcisle*, wrote to Montcalm as follows, under date 19th February 1759:—"Besides increasing the dearth of provisions, which you already experience, it is to be feared that reinforcements, if dispatched, would fall into the power of the English. The King is unable to send succours proportional to the forces the English can place in the field to oppose you, so that the only effect would be to induce the Minister at London to exert himself the more to maintain the superiority he has gained in that part of the continent. . . . You must confine yourself to the defensive, and concentrate all your forces within as narrow limits as possible. It is of the last importance to pre-

Thus, while the American war was highly popular in England, whose people, under the guidance of a gifted Prime Minister, were willing to lavish both men and money for its successful prosecution, France virtually abandoned her colony, in behalf of which so much blood and treasure had been expended, so many sacrifices and sufferings endured by her exiled emigrants, and so many hopes and aspirations respecting a great transatlantic empire had been fostered by her devoted priests and pious persons of both sexes, her princes, nobles, and ministers of state. It is certain that the tenor of the official dispatches from France exercised a most disheartening effect upon the minds of the defenders of the colony,* showing that the home Government had ceased to hope or care for its preservation, and that they were expected to prolong a hopeless contest with the bare expectation of retaining for their country some "footing on the continent."

263. Another grievous disadvantage, affecting the prospect of sustaining a successful resistance, arose from internal discord. There was an absence of harmony between the chief functionaries, as likewise between the officers and men be-

serve some footing in Canada. However small the territory preserved may be, it is indispensable that *un pied* should be retained in North America, for if all be once lost it would become impossible to recover it." The Minister of Marine, *M. de Berryer*, wrote in the same strain to Governor Vaudreuil.

* Montcalm and his principal officers, while deploring the prospect before them, nevertheless replied in terms expressive of unlimited loyalty and devotion. Montcalm wrote—"For my part, and that of the troops under me, we are ready to fall with the colony, and to be buried in its ruins." Also—"I dare to repeat my entire devotion to the salvation of this unfortunate colony, or to perish." M. de Levis said—"I see that it is necessary to defend ourselves foot to foot, fighting to the death; for it will be better for the King's service that we should die with arms in our hands than for us to accept disgraceful terms of surrender like those permitted at the capitulation of Cape Breton." Bougainville and others expressed similar sentiments.

longing to the several branches of the public service, both civil and military. No cordial feeling or mutual confidence subsisted between Governor Vaudreuil and General Montcalm. The former considered the commander of the forces overrated as a general, too exacting, and unjust towards the Canadian militia and Indians. Montcalm, on the other hand, esteemed the Governor weak-minded, incapable, and blindly disposed to listen to the counsels of the Intendant Bigot, and of his brother and others, forming what was styled the *Canadian party*. A project was even proposed at one time by the General's friends, having for its object the substitution of Montcalm as Governor in place of Vaudreuil. The want of accord between these head functionaries began soon after Montcalm's arrival in Canada, and continued, notwithstanding an outward semblance of courtesy, up to the time of the General's death on the field of battle. Bigot, and his principal accomplices in the mismanagement of the affairs intrusted to their care, sided with the Governor, who protected them, and commended their discharge of duty in his dispatches to the home Government. But the military officers, both of the regular army and of the colony troops, marine and militia, regarded Bigot and his coadjutors with much disfavour. As for the people, the inhabitants, although subjected to many inconveniences and privations on account of the military, were almost unanimous in their dislike and condemnation of the Intendant. Again, the officers and men of the regular army had but little sympathy in common with those constituting the colony troops, while the members of both branches of the service heartily concurred in affecting to look down upon the Canadian militia.*

* Dussieux relates that the mutual jealousies of the colony troops and those of the regular army gave rise to constant and very serious discussions

264. We have next to refer to one of the most influential of all the proximate causes of ruin—one which has been already several times alluded to. This was the mal-administration of those departments of the public service confided to the Royal Intendant, or conducted under his auspices.

In the first place, and in connection with the war waged between the two mother countries on the soil of their respective colonies, the Intendant and his subordinate coadjutors were charged with the management of the material resources of Canada. He had the general control of the finances, the provisioning of the troops and military posts, the supply of the various articles of equipment for the soldiers, militia, and Indian auxiliaries, and the importation from France of all the various commodities required in the public magazines—flour, liquors, clothing, &c.—within the colony. He was empowered to fix, from time to time,, the market prices of grain and fodder, and of the necessaries of life, as well those at which articles were to be bought for the King's service as those at which they should be sold to individuals. It should also be borne in mind that the Intendant, as regards colonial rank, stood next to the Governor, and that he exercised a voice as a member of the Supreme Council in all matters affecting the interests of the colony.

But M. Bigot, the last of the Royal Intendants of Canada,*

between M. de Vaudreuil and Montcalm. "The incapable and trifling Vaudreuil, counselled and incited by Bigot, converted into matters of serious complaint all the insignificant differences which continually sprung up amongst the soldiers, the militia, the savages, and the colonists. He complained bitterly of Montcalm, because it was difficult for a good understanding to subsist between his soldiers and the Canadians, and because of the haughty fashion in which the latter were treated by his officers."

* M. Bigot succeeded to the intendancy in 1748, on the retirement of M. Hocquart, during the interval when M. de la Galissoniere acted as Governor, in place of La Jonquiere. He had previously served as com-

was altogether unfaithful. While he enriched himself at the expense of the King and of the public service, he connived at the most extensive frauds and peculations perpetrated by others under his auspices. In consequence, during his intendancy, the public expenses of the colony increased from year to year, until they attained to an enormous amount, far beyond the ability of the mother country to bear. At the same time the troops were insufficiently provided with necessaries, and the inhabitants generally reduced to a state of extreme suffering, owing to the unfaithfulness and exactions of Bigot and his accomplices.

Montcalm and other officers of the King had not failed to send to France intimations relative to the mismanagement of Bigot, yet the latter usually contrived to escape censure by means of favourable reports of the Governor, who did not perceive or realise the true nature of the Intendant's proceedings.* In order to explain what these

missary at Louisbourg in 1744 and 1745, in which latter year that stronghold was captured by the English. Bigot was regarded as having been instrumental in bringing about the disaster through his corrupt proceedings.

* Towards the close of 1758, however, the accusations against Bigot began to have some weight with the then Minister of Marine at the court of France. This functionary, accordingly, wrote a somewhat severe despatch to Bigot, dated January 19, 1759, in course of which he said to him—"Even you yourself have caused purchases, on the King's account, to be made at double the price for which you could have procured the articles bought, effecting this through third parties, and thus making the fortunes of persons leagued with you in these and other enterprises. You are also alleged to be living in the most splendid style in the midst of a general state of misery endured by the public. I beg you to reflect seriously upon the tendency of this fashion of conducting the affairs intrusted to you."

General Montcalm said, in a despatch written by him in April 1759, that he had no confidence either in M. Vaudreuil or in Bigot. He suggested that some even wished for the ruin of the colony, so that their misdeeds might be hidden. "It would seem," he said, "that all are in haste to enrich themselves before the country is quite lost to France; . . . greediness

really were, we shall here advert to the charges brought against Bigot and upwards of fifty others, several years later, in a court of justice at Paris.

The accusations, which were more or less completely proved, were substantially as follows:—That illegal compacts existed between Bigot and four other officials, for the purpose of monopolising to themselves the commerce of the colony, and which resulted in the commission of innumerable frauds; that false entries were made relative to commodities and necessaries purchased for the King's service, in which the quantities and prices were overstated, so as to produce enormous gains to those concerned in the transactions; that on one occasion the cargo of a captured English merchant vessel had been purchased on the King's account for eight hundred thousand francs, and then charged nearly *two millions;* that in course of 1757 and 1758, the confederates had realised profits amounting to twenty-four million francs on two single transactions concerning the purchase of provisions and equipments; that Bigot and his accomplices, for the purpose of effecting these gigantic frauds, bribed the commandants, commissaries, and guardians of stores at the different forts; that, under the pretext of provisioning the different fortified stations of the colony, charges were made for the transport of supplies which were fictitious, existing only on paper; that at the very time when the soldiers were without necessaries, the King was charged for rations and complete sets of equipments never furnished to the troops; that cargoes of merchandise, im-

has infected every one—officers, storekeepers, clerks, &c." Before this despatch reached France the English fleet and army had appeared before Quebec, and put an end to the ability of the mother country either to punish or reward her officials in Canada in a way to be of any service to the colony.

ported at the expense of the King, were sold to contractors, and then resold to the King at a fourfold price; that while the King was made liable, by means of false entries, for the payment of supplies two or three times over, the soldiers and militia were suffering from want, and obliged to buy, at their own cost, those necessaries which had been provided by the King for their use; that the Intendant and his subordinates, as well as several officers, being in league to defraud the King, those who were injured could not obtain justice, or even raise their voices against the administration, and that no honest merchants were permitted to have any share in the contracts for supplies; that Bigot caused the sale of peltry, on the King's account, to be made at very low prices to his agents, in order to profit by the subsequent disposal of it in the ordinary way of business; and, finally, that Bigot and his subordinates were guilty of constantly making untrue declarations and entries to conceal their fraudulent practices, falsifying everything relating to the actual expenses, by changing their title, nature, object, and amount.*

Governor Vaudreuil himself was believed by some to be implicated in the charges against the Intendant.† Others, more correctly, imputed to him a culpable partiality, and blindness to the disastrous tendency of Bigot's administration.

265. Apart from the several causes already stated, each one of itself foreboding the early downfall of the colony, a succession of bad harvests, attended with a scarcity of all

* It will be seen that the peculations were continued up to the very end of the war in 1760, when estimates of articles fraudulently authorised were paid by the Intendant at Montreal. One item charged was three hundred thousand *mocassins* for savages, amounting to thirty thousand francs, and received by the *munitionaire* Cadet, although few or none had been distributed.

† Vaudreuil was subsequently put upon his trial at Paris, but acquitted.

the necessaries of life, afflicted the unfortunate inhabitants, who were dependent for subsistence upon the products of the soil. As all the able-bodied males were employed in the war, aged men, women, and children, had been left to attend, as they best could, to the concerns of agriculture. Those serving as militia, although they received rations, clothing, and arms, while on duty, had no pay. At the close of each of the last few campaigns, they returned to their homes without money wherewith to supplement the scanty returns from their lands. To make their case worse, the Intendant's agents scoured the settlements in order to extort, at fixed prices, the fodder and grain required by the troops.* Moreover, during the winter of 1758-59, soldiers were quartered upon the inhabitants at the rate of fifteen francs a month per man for partial maintenance, shelter, and fuel.

Considering the scarcity of money, the prices at which necessaries could be occasionally bought were excessive.† Before the summer of 1759, the inhabitants, to save themselves from starvation, began to slaughter their working cattle, their only dependence for performing in future some of the most necessary labours on their farms.

* The Intendant fixed the price of wheat at twelve francs per bushel. It was resold to individuals at about forty francs.

† In former times, before the calamitous state of things brought about during the present and the preceding war, the following were ordinary prices :—*wheat, maize, peas,* one and a half to two francs ; a pound of *butter,* about eight sous; a dozen of *eggs,* three sous ; a *chicken,* ten sous; a *turkey,* twenty sous ; *pork, beef, mutton,* from one to two sous per lb. ; and other articles in proportion. Now, in 1758 and 1759, *wheat* was about forty francs ; *butter* or *lard,* forty sous ; *meat,* from twenty-five to forty sous. A single *cabbage* cost twenty sous ; and *milk,* forty sous a quart. Whereas, formerly, a whole cow or ox could be bought for less than thirty francs, and a horse of middling qualities for forty, it was now necessary to pay fifteen or sixteen francs for *leather* enough to make a single pair of shoes.

In contrast with this condition of dire necessity in Canada, the people of the English colonies were at the same time living in the enjoyment of abundance, both as respects money and provisions. While the enfeebled state and dismal prospects of the Canadians compelled them to abandon all attempts at harassing their enemies, by making, as of old, spirited incursions into their territory, the Indian allies of both parties did not fail to become cognisant of their comparative situation and resources, or to draw inferences, and pursue a course of conduct, extremely prejudicial to the French cause. In fact, the tribes generally were now alienated, excepting those savages who were in immediate contact with the French at a few western posts at Niagara, and at their fortified stations on the St Lawrence. To preserve the fidelity of these it was necessary to feed them, and thus to curtail sensibly the supplies available for the support of the troops and inhabitants. Notwithstanding the scarcity, Governor Vaudreuil caused the Indians to be furnished with rations daily out of the public stores, for which he has been by some severely censured.

266. As the circumstances noticed in the five preceding articles were sufficiently known to, and appreciated by, Montcalm and his principal officers, we need feel no surprise at the sentiments which they now expressed respecting the results of the coming campaign of 1759.* Even in the moment of victory at Carillon, in August 1758, the general was well aware that the ultimate issue of the

* In his letter of April 12, 1759, addressed to the Minister of War, Montcalm wrote—"If we are left without a fleet at Quebec, the enemy can come there; and Quebec taken, the colony is lost." Again, in the same letter we find the words—"If the war continues, Canada will belong to the English in course of this campaign or the next. If peace be made, the colony is lost, unless there be a total change in the management."

contest must, in all human probability, be the loss of the French colony. The valour of his officers and men, aided by some reinforcements from France, might continue to baffle the English and to protract the struggle; but as to the nature of the final result he did not suffer himself to be deceived. He at that time solicited his recall, as his only recompense for past services, alleging ill-health, and the exhaustion of his private pecuniary resources. He desired, in fact, to retire from the evil prospects before him —from a scene of turmoil, dissension, and mismanagement, sufficient of themselves to ruin the cause of the colony; exposed on every side to the attacks of an enemy, resolute, persevering, and superior in numbers and resources of all kinds. Upon one possible event alone could he and his officers place any hopes of its salvation—*the conclusion of a peace* between the contending mother countries. Accordingly, Montcalm and Levis, as well as Bougainville, who, a little later, was sent home to France to represent personally the desperate state of affairs, urged the French Ministry to make peace at almost any sacrifice, unless they could send out extensive reinforcements of troops, with provisions, munitions of war, and a powerful fleet. Similar suggestions were transmitted from Canada by other officers of the King. In short, all thoughtful persons foresaw that the campaign of 1759 would probably deliver New France into the hands of the English. The nature of the replies which these representations called forth from the Government of France has been already stated. The mother country had, in fact, substantially decided on abandoning her colony to its fate.*

* When Bougainville was engaged in pleading the cause of the colony at the court of France, he met with very little encouragement. In his memoir setting forth the urgent need of assistance, he discussed several plans of

267. It remains to be explained briefly what force Vaudreuil and Montcalm had to depend upon for confronting their enemies in the coming campaign of 1759, how these were to be disposed, and what their plans of defence were.

In the month of January a census was taken of the population, which was found to amount to eighty-two thousand souls. Of able-bodied males between the ages of sixteen and sixty, about fifteen thousand were enrolled as militia, the Quebec district counting for seven thousand five hundred, Montreal six thousand four hundred, and Three Rivers the remainder. It was impossible to enumerate the Indians who could be counted on for actual service in the three districts and at the different posts above Montreal.

The number of savage auxiliaries who subsequently took part in the operations at Quebec seems to have been from one thousand to twelve hundred, and it is of little consequence here to inquire how many still professed fidelity to the French in other parts, since, as events proved, they could not be depended upon in emergencies.*

furnishing succours, to which the French Ministers turned a deaf ear. As a last resource, and to carry out their idea of preserving at least some footing on the soil of North America, he proposed that the French forces in Canada should retire into Louisiana, so as to establish themselves there—leaving to the future the recovery of their positions on the St Lawrence, whether by treaty or by force. But all the French Ministers seemed to care about was, that resistance should be as much protracted as possible.

In the end Bougainville succeeded in extorting a small reinforcement, including about six hundred troops, with some provisions and munitions of war, which escaped capture at sea, and finally arrived at Quebec in May 1759.

* There must have been a considerable number of Indians in the service of the French, or at least in nominal alliance with them, at the western posts, south of Lake Erie, Detroit, Michilimakinac, &c. According to a journal found at the capture of Fort Niagara in July 1759, the force which marched to the relief of that place, drawn from the other nearest forts, consisted

The troops, consisting of regulars and colony soldiers, or marines, amounted to about six thousand.

If we state the whole disposable force of the colony, when hostilities began in 1759, at twenty-two thousand, we must include in this number a small reinforcement brought out from France by Bougainville, as well as the lads under sixteen, and the aged men of from sixty to eighty years, who are said to have flocked to the ranks in defence of their homes and altars.

For the local marine and transport service, two frigates of thirty-two and thirty-six guns respectively, and half a dozen smaller vessels, mounted with from twenty to twenty-four guns each, were available at Quebec, together with a sufficient number of batteaux, boats, and rafts. On Lake Champlain, also, there were several armed vessels, and small craft required for the transport of troops and stores; and the same may be said of Lakes Ontario and Erie.

As the devoted colony was about to be assailed at several and distant points, the forces were distributed or held in readiness accordingly. Captain Pouchat, with three companies of regulars and several hundred Canadians and savages, was ordered to occupy Niagara, while twelve hundred men, under M. de la Corne, were destined for the defence of Lake Ontario. Bourlamaque had upwards of three thousand men for the occupation and defence of the French military posts on Lake George, Lake Champlain, and the River Richelieu. Finally, as it was held that the fall of Quebec would involve the loss of the colony, it was determined to station the main body there, under

of two thousand five hundred men, half Frenchmen and half savages. But it would appear that when they were attacked and defeated by Sir William Johnson, the savage auxiliaries left the French to do the fighting alone.

Montcalm, Levis, Bougainville, and the Governor in person.

Offensive operations formed no part of their plan, because of the great disparity in numbers and in material resources. Accordingly, Bourlamaque was directed merely to make as good a show of resistance as possible when the English forces advanced in the direction of Lake Champlain, and to retreat from post to post without engaging in any serious conflict, or incurring the risk of capture. A defensive system was to be followed at all points.

Early in 1759 the Governor issued public notices, in which he called upon the people generally to defend their religion, families, and property with all their might. They were also directed to prepare hiding-places in the forest, in which to conceal their families and movable effects, as soon as the enemy should approach. All the country people in the vicinity of Quebec were to betake themselves for refuge to Point Levi, or to the north shore of the St Lawrence, opposite the Island of Orleans, bringing with them a month's supply of food. Finally the Governor intimated that he would agree to no capitulation, alleging that it was better for all to perish with the colony than to fall into the hands of the English. The plan of defence for Quebec will be stated more particularly when we come to describe the military and naval operations of the memorable campaign of 1759, carried on in the vicinity of that city.*

* Vaudreuil has been much censured for neglecting to take steps for augmenting the defences of Quebec until the near approach of the English forces scarcely allowed the time and opportunity for doing so efficiently.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

PLANS OF THE ENGLISH FOR THE CAMPAIGN OF 1759—OPERATIONS OF GENERAL AMHERST ON LAKE CHAMPLAIN—EXPEDITION AGAINST NIAGARA—ATTEMPT TO RELIEVE FORT NIAGARA—CAPTURE OF NIAGARA AND FRENCH FORTS SOUTH OF LAKE ERIE—FORCES OF AMHERST AND SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON UNABLE TO TAKE PART IN THE OPERATIONS AT QUEBEC.

268. CONFORMABLY to the general plan of operations, which, as stated in a preceding article, was concerted by the British and colonial authorities during the autumn and winter of 1758, a new commander-in-chief—General Amherst—was appointed, and all the other principal officers who were to be intrusted with the command of the several distinct expeditions against the French. Amherst in person was to conduct an army of about twelve thousand men against the French positions on Lake Champlain, and thence to the valley of the St Lawrence. The fleet and land forces destined to attack Quebec were placed under Admiral Saunders and Major-General James Wolfe respectively, while the operations in the direction of Lake Ontario and against Fort Niagara were committed to the charge of General Prideaux and Sir William Johnson.* Although the

* In connection with the three principal expeditions named in the text, another minor operation was to be executed by General *Stanwix,* having in view the expulsion of the French from the line of posts established between Fort Duquesne (Pittsburg) and Lake Erie—as Les Bœufs, Venango, Presque Isle, &c. It will be seen that this subordinate enterprise was rendered comparatively easy in consequence of the withdrawal of most of the garrisons from those stations for the relief of Fort Niagara.

forces under the different commanders enumerated were to be engaged simultaneously in carrying out parts of one connected scheme of invasion, each body was necessarily charged with an independent sphere of action, unfettered by the proceedings of the others. In presenting, therefore, the narrative of details of the campaign of 1759, it is proper to adopt a corresponding division into three parts—the first relating to Amherst's operations on Lake Champlain, the second to those of Prideaux and Johnson, and the third to the attack upon Quebec by Saunders and Wolfe.

269. General Amherst concentrated his troops at Albany and Fort Edward in the month of May. He first detached those destined to move upon Niagara, which were to consist of three battalions of regulars, two regiments of New York Provincials, and a body of Indian auxiliaries.

In conducting his own advance into the Champlain region, he was obliged to follow the same route as his predecessor the year before—from Fort Edward to the head of Lake George, thence to its outlet in batteaux and on rafts, thence to Carillon and the head of Lake Champlain. But Amherst was prudent as well as resolute, and therefore he proceeded with great deliberation, taking along with him upwards of fifty pieces of artillery, and all requisite supplies of provisions and munitions of war. A whole month was spent in the transport of stores and cannon from Fort Edward, and in providing the necessary batteaux and other craft for his future operations. He arrived in the vicinity of Carillon, the scene of Abercrombie's bloody defeat, on the 22d of July. Not unmindful of the principal causes of his predecessor's failure, he reconnoitred the French position, and made his dispositions for carrying it on the

morrow.* The post had been greatly strengthened since the date of Abercrombie's repulse; but Bourlamaque, in obedience to his instructions, had already retired to Crown Point, on being apprised by his scouts of Amherst's approach.†

On 4th August the English army took possession of Crown Point, the French having vacated this post also and retreated to Isle-aux-Noix.

More than two months were spent by Amherst in strengthening the works at Ticonderoga and Crown Point, and in making further preparations for moving down Lake Champlain. The French had several armed vessels on the lake, and he judged it necessary to have two constructed for his own use. By the middle of October, when arrangements were completed for pursuing the French to Isle-aux-Noix, the lateness of the season, and the unfavourable state of the weather, put an end to all further progress.‡

Having decided to defer the prosecution of his advance

* The failure of Abercrombie to carry the position of Montcalm at Carillon, notwithstanding his superior numbers and the undoubted valour and persevering obstinacy of his soldiers, was occasioned chiefly by his having neglected to bring up his artillery. He likewise depended exclusively upon attacking in front, without making any flank movements for *turning* the French position. In consequence, the valour of his soldiers was useless, and the loss of life unusually great.

† Before leaving Carillon, Bourlamaque caused the stores and munitions of war to be destroyed. Several mines were charged, and arrangements made for exploding them on the entrance of the English troops. A deserter, however, brought information which saved them from all danger arising from that cause.

The name of Carillon was changed by Amherst into *Ticonderoga*—and that of Fort St Frederick, the *Point-a-Chevelure* of the French, into *Crown Point.*

‡ Two attempts to proceed were made—viz., on the 11th and 19th of October. After the 19th, the flotilla proceeded some distance down, when it became evident that winter had set in.

until the following season, Amherst made arrangements for the cantonment of his troops during the winter in several divisions, at Crown-Point, Forts George and Lydius, and at Albany. Although he had not accomplished all the objects of his expedition—since he did not reach the St Lawrence, and descend the great river with his army in aid of the attack upon Quebec—yet the results attained were of a substantial nature, in view of the ensuing year's operations.*

270. In the meantime the force under General Prideaux had advanced to Oswego, where a strong detachment was left under the command of Colonel Haldimand, for the double purpose of maintaining communications with Amherst, and of providing a place of refuge in case of need. From Oswego, Prideaux conducted his troops in batteaux and canoes along the southern shore of Lake Ontario. Arriving in the vicinity of Fort Niagara on July 5th, he immediately commenced the siege.

On July 19th, General Prideaux was killed in the trenches by the explosion of a shell, when the chief command devolved upon Sir William Johnson. The French commandant of the post, Pouchot, had previously sent word to the garrisons of the other forts lying between Lake Erie and the Ohio valley, Presque Isle, Venango, Les Bœufs, and of Detroit, to march to his own relief with as many men as could be spared. In consequence, a considerable body was collected and advanced to raise the siege, a few days after the accident to General Prideaux. Johnson, leaving a sufficient force to guard his batteries, immediately turned out to encounter this new enemy with his regulars

* In course of the season, reports of the total failure of Amherst's expedition were spread amongst the English troops serving at Quebec. Amherst did send couriers to communicate with Saunders and Wolfe, but they fell into the hands of the French on their way down.

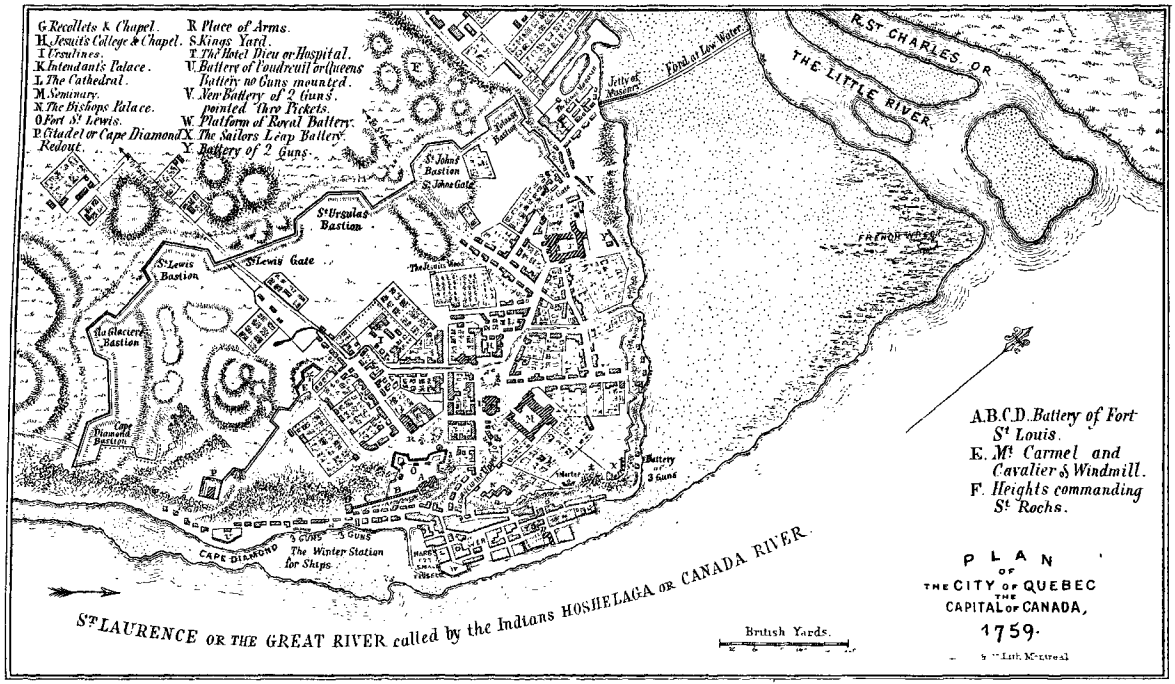
and Indians, and on the 24th of July succeeded in gaining a complete victory.* On the following day he caused the result to be intimated to Pouchot, who, after some slight hesitation, convinced that his case was now hopeless, surrendered. Thus the operations against Fort Niagara were entirely successful, involving in the result the easy capture of the other French forts by General Stanwix, since their garrisons had been reduced by the numbers detached for the relief of Captain Pouchot.†

271. We must now direct our attention to the course of events at Quebec. There, owing to the belief entertained on both sides that the downfall of the capital would involve the surrender of the colony, the main body of the French forces was stationed, and thither likewise had been directed the most powerful armament of the English. We have seen that Amherst could not advance far enough to admit of his participating in any operations at the principal seat of war during the campaign of 1759; and, although Sir

* In Garneau's confused account of this affair, Johnson is stated to have placed his troops in ambush somewhere between the Falls of Niagara and the fort. This writer represents, that on the French side there was treachery practised, first, in the conveyance of information to Johnson by the very emissaries of the French commanders; and secondly, in the conduct of the French Indians, who, he says, drew back at the moment of battle, on perceiving the Iroquois auxiliaries of Johnson, and left the French to be massacred by Johnson's soldiers and savages. It is then stated that the savages on the French side, who thus materially aided the British, were also massacred.

Garneau closes his account with an insinuation that Sir William Johnson granted honourable terms to the garrison—to which, from their gallant resistance, they were fairly entitled—*because he was about to be superseded in the chief command by the deceased Prideaux's successor.*

† While the operations against Niagara were in progress, an attempt was made by the French forces stationed near the outlet of Lake Ontario to surprise Colonel Haldimand at Oswego. The lake was crossed for that purpose, but Haldimand's people were on their guard and repelled the assailants.


G. Recollets & Chapel.
H. Jesuit's College & Chapel.
I. Ursulines.
K. Intendant's Palace.
L. The Cathedral.
M. Seminary.
N. The Bishops Palace.
O. Fort St. Lewis.
P. Citadel or Cape Diamond Redout.
R. Place of Arms.
S. Kings Yard.
T. The Hotel Dieu or Hospital.
U. Battery of Poudreuil or Queens Battery no Guns mounted.
V. New Battery of 2 Guns, pointed thro Pickets.
W. Platform of Royal Battery.
X. The Sailors Leap Battery.
Y. Battery of 2 Guns.
R. St. Charles or the Little River.
Ford at Low Water
Jetty of Masonry
St. John's Bastion
St. Johns Gate
St. Ursulas Bastion
St. Lewis Bastion
St. Lewis Gate
The Jesuits Wood
Ila Glaciere Bastion
Cape Diamond Bastion
Battery of 3 Guns
3 Guns
3 Guns
Cape Diamond
The Winter Station for Ships
St. Laurence or the Great River called by the Indians Hoshelaga or Canada River.
British Yards.
A.B.C.D. Battery of Fort St. Louis.
E. Mt. Carmel and Cavalier & Windmill.
F. Heights commanding St. Rochs.
Plan of the City of Quebec the Capital of Canada, 1759.
Lith. Montreal

William Johnson had completed his work by the end of July, his troops, united with those of Haldimand, could not have made their way down to Quebec while the outlet of Lake Ontario, Montreal, Isle-aux-Noix, and the banks of the Richelieu remained occupied by the French forces. It was plain, therefore, that if the English were to succeed in the principal undertaking of the season, the result must be accomplished by the armament of Saunders and Wolfe, without aid from above.

The narrative of the eventful struggle for the possession of the ancient capital of Canada is contained in the ensuing chapters.

CHAPTER XXIX.

STRENGTH OF THE ENGLISH ARMAMENT—ARRIVAL OFF QUEBEC—LINE OF DEFENCE—WOLFE'S MANIFESTO—POSITIONS TAKEN UP—EMINENT PERSONS PRESENT AT THE SIEGE OF QUEBEC—FRENCH FIRESHIPS—BOMBARDMENT OF THE CITY—BATTLE OF BEAUPORT FLATS.

272. THE armament destined for the reduction of Quebec consisted of a fleet of fifty vessels, under the command of Admirals Saunders, Holmes, and Durell, conveying seven thousand six hundred soldiers and one thousand marines. The land forces were commanded by Major-General James Wolfe, having under him Brigadier-Generals Monckton, Townshend, and Murray. Wolfe had been appointed from considerations of merit alone, for he was comparatively a young officer, being not more than thirty-two years of age. But he had seen a great deal of active service, and

the greatest expectations were entertained from his already acknowledged military genius, prudence, and courage.* Owing to the enlightened policy of the English Prime Minister, he was allowed the privilege of selecting his own principal officers, which, it was thought, might compensate, in some measure, for the insufficiency of the number of soldiers, considering the magnitude of the enterprise.

The main body of the fleet was preceded by seven sail of the line and several frigates, detached from Halifax under Admiral Durell, for the purpose of intercepting in the St Lawrence reinforcements arriving from France.†

* Wolfe, as well as Townshend and Murray, had served under the Duke of Cumberland in Germany, and in Scotland in the suppression of the rebellion of 1745. He had greatly distinguished himself under Amherst at Louisbourg in 1758. His father had been a general in the British army, and Wolfe himself had been from his boyhood enthusiastically devoted to the military service.

† Durell advanced up the St Lawrence some time before Saunders and Holmes, and stationed his squadron off Isle Coudres, about twenty leagues below Quebec. His vessels sailed under French colours in order to deceive any French commanders who might come in sight. He captured only two store-ships. Bougainville with two frigates (*La Pomone* of thirty-two guns, and *L'Atalante* of thirty-six), and fifteen or sixteen transports carrying troops and stores for Quebec, had already passed up the river.

The military force included eight full regiments (15th, 28th, 35th, 43d, 47th, 48th, 58th, and 78th), and two battalions of the 60th or Royal Americans, each of which was nearly of the strength of one of the other regiments. There were also companies of light infantry, rangers, and grenadiers added, as well as corps of artillery and marines. The army was divided into three brigades.

The naval force included twenty-two men-of-war of from fifty to ninety guns, five frigates, nineteen sloops-of-war, and seven or eight cutters for soundings, together with a considerable number of transports, store-ships, &c. The troops were equal to any in the British service, and the utmost cordiality prevailed between the officers and men of the several branches, naval and military. The whole armament entered upon the expedition in the highest spirits, and amongst the officers the "prevailing sentimental toast" was "*British colours on every French fort, port, and garrison in America.*" On one occasion, when Wolfe had reviewed the grenadier com-

Admirals Saunders and Holmes came up with Durell's squadron at *Isle Coudres*. Here the invaders witnessed the first symptoms of hostility, a few shots being fired by some Indians from the river bank upon a boat's crew engaged in taking soundings.

By the end of June the whole fleet had reached the basin off Quebec. The troops were at once landed and camps formed on the Island of Orleans, and afterwards on the south side of the river, opposite the city, near Point Levis. Hostilities commenced in earnest about the first day of July, before which date, however, several minor encounters had occurred between small parties of soldiers and outlying bodies of Canadians and Indians, who were on the watch for opportunities of harassing the invaders, on their arrival, and of scalping isolated stragglers.

In order to comprehend rightly any narrative of particulars of the deadly strife which was waged, during eleven weeks, in the vicinity of the fortress and city to whose possession so much importance was attached on both sides, it is necessary to become acquainted with the line of defence adopted by the French leaders.

273. Governor Vaudreuil and Montcalm were at Montreal when Bougainville brought to Canada the first reliable intelligence of the attack about to be made upon Quebec by the English fleet and army.

panies in the garrison previously to the departure from Louisbourg, some commanding officers of corps who expected to be also reviewed in their turn, apologised to the General on account of their regiments having been unable to acquire practice in some of the new exercises, since they had been a long time in cantonments, when Wolfe answered sharply, "Pooh! new exercises! new fiddlesticks; if they are otherwise well disciplined and will fight, that 's all I shall require of them."

The armament departed from Louisbourg on its momentous undertaking in the course of the first week of June 1759.

Although some general outlines of a plan for defending the capital had been sketched out, as already stated, yet in their uncertainty about the time, manner, and place where the first blow would be struck, the chiefs had not concluded any definite arrangements respecting the defence of Quebec in particular.* Little or nothing had been done since the time of the father of the Governor towards improving the fortifications—a work which, properly, was under the jurisdiction of the Government of France, and not a colonial duty. Now, in 1759, Montcalm and his principal officers and engineers unanimously agreed that it would not be safe to place any dependence upon the ancient walls in view of standing a regular siege.† It was therefore decided to defend the city by means of intrenchments and redoubts outside, extending from the banks of the river St Charles northward, through Beauport to the river Montmorency. The army and Indian

* Some had even argued that the alleged difficulties attendant upon the navigation of the St Lawrence, and the recollection of former disastrous failures, would deter the English Government from renewing attempts to reduce Quebec by means of any extensive naval expedition. The Governor himself appears to have entertained that idea, and he deferred attending to the suggestions of Montcalm and others relative to the inefficient state of the fortifications of the city.

† Such also, it will be seen, was the ruling opinion afterwards when the place was surrendered by capitulation before the besiegers were ready to fire their first shot. Similarly General Murray, in the following year, preferred to incur the risk of marching out to fight on unequal terms rather than await the result of siege operations about to be undertaken by De Levis. The walls, in fact, were of little use against an enemy having heavy siege artillery. *M. E. Rameau*, in his work entitled "La France aux Colonies," part ii. p. 76, says, contrasting the waste of means upon fortifications with the niggardly aid for useful purposes given by France to Canada—"From 1730 to 1740 they had devoted one million seven hundred thousand francs annually to fortifying Quebec, but the ordinary disbursements for Canada then came to no more than four hundred thousand francs a year."

auxiliaries being placed behind these works, the right of the line would rest on Quebec, with the centre at Beauport, and the left near the Montmorency, where the rocky banks of the cataract would afford a very strong position of defence. The labour of throwing up the intrenchments and constructing redoubts was begun immediately after the arrival of the Generals from Montreal, about the 24th of May, and was scarcely completed when the English fleet made its appearance on the 26th of June.

On the right of the line of intrenchments, communication with the city across the St Charles was provided for by a bridge of boats. This was protected by means of a *horn-work** on the left bank, situated where Jacques Cartier and his companions are supposed to have passed the winter of 1535. Lower down the St Charles several hulks of vessels were grounded and made available to support platforms for cannon. Nearer still to the mouth of the river

* Garneau expresses himself in such a way as to intimate that there were *two* horn-works, one at each end of the bridge of boats. In the published accounts and plans drawn up at the period we find only one indicated, viz., on the left bank, as stated in the text.

The horn-work was an extensive inclosure of several acres, formed by throwing up a high bank of earth towards the Beauport side. Mr Le Moine, the accomplished author of many interesting articles on Canadian history, the "Birds of Canada," "Maple Leaves," &c., quoting from Chevalier Johnstone's narrative, says of this horn-work, that "its front, facing the River St Charles and the heights beyond, was composed of strong, thick, and high palisades, with gun-holes pierced for several large cannon." He states that it covered about twelve acres, and that its remains, standing more than fifteen feet above ground, may be seen to this day surrounded by a ditch. A house stood in the centre of it. Mr Le Moine adds his opinion that at least three thousand men must have been required to construct this extensive work within the few weeks devoted to it.

Those were the days of *corvées* or forced labour, when, as in some despotically-governed Eastern countries, large bodies of men could easily be brought together at command in the name of the King.

a strong boom was constructed, and protected by a battery of four guns situated on the left bank. The position of the bridge of boats was a little below the bend of the river, near which the general hospital now stands, and not far from the point where the little river *Larry*, or *Lairet*, flows into St Charles. One or more vessels were fitted up as floating batteries, while others were converted into fire-ships, to be sent down with the current, as opportunity might offer, against the English ships, for the purpose of burning them. All along the intrenchments, in front, redoubts and batteries were constructed between the boom and the extreme left. The right of the line was further protected by batteries of guns and mortars, located on the ascending steeps forming the north and north-west slope of the promontory upon which Quebec stands. Round the base of the cliffs, facing the mouth of the St Charles, and extending into the lower town, every favourable position was appropriated, in like manner, to the purposes of offence and defence. Ships of any size could not approach the line of intrenchments from want of depth of water, and, at low tide, on the water side there was nothing but an extended surface of mud and sand, utterly unfit for the evolutions of troops. By means of the measures which have been described, and the natural impediments, it was confidently expected that the enemy would find it impossible to approach the city on the sides facing the north and east.

In other respects, nature had done everything that could be desired for the security of the place in the direction round the point facing the basin, and upwards a long way beyond Cape Diamond. The several approaches leading from the lower to the upper town being sufficiently fortified, the distribution of cannon along the crest of the precipice above enabled the defenders to control the passage

up the river, so far, at least, as to make this more or less hazardous to hostile vessels. Higher up, towards Sillery, Cape Rouge, and Point-aux-Trembles, and most of the way towards Cape Santé, at the mouth of the river Jacques Cartier, the general character of the northern bank of the St Lawrence was precipitous, and unfavourable for effecting a landing. All that seemed necessary in this quarter was, to station guards at different points to prevent surprise. But should the enemy make any serious attempt to land above the city, a moderately strong corps, detached from the main body to confront them at the moment of disembarkation, would secure the safety of the city on the western or land side, where the fortifications were weakest.

Thus, by the time the English armament arrived, the French had established an effective line of defence, extending from Montmorency on the extreme left to the heights of Abraham, and thence up the north shore of the St Lawrence, as far as it could be imagined to be requisite, in the direction of Point-aux-Trembles and the mouth of the Jacques Cartier.*

* It will be seen, in the sequel, that although the plans of defence agreed upon between the authorities of the colony and the military were such as for a long time to baffle the invaders, yet they were not such as General Montcalm himself considered most suitable. In fact, it is to the honour of that eminent soldier that he afterwards so faithfully adhered to the plans laid down for his guidance, by others less competent, rather than to those selected by himself. The following extract from an English military authority exhibits Montcalm's views :—

"The plan of the enemy's operations was to act entirely on the defensive. M. de Vaudreuil, the Governor-General, had belonged to the marine, and knew very little of military matters, between whom and Montcalm there was not a thoroughly good understanding; consequently they were seldom of the same opinion in council. The French general readily judged from whence our operations against Quebec would be likely to commence, and proposed that a detachment of four thousand men with a proper train of artillery should be strongly intrenched at Point Levi, and that other

The bulk of the army, to the number of ten thousand men, was stationed behind the intrenchments on the St Charles side. Within the walls of the city, six or seven hundred men, mostly armed citizens and militia, with colony troops and sailors to work the guns, constituted the garrison. To keep the army and inhabitants supplied with provisions, arrangements were made for transport, in barges and boats, from depôts established at Montreal. The archives of the colony were transferred to Three Rivers. Families and religious communities wishing to remove beyond the range of the enemy's guns were encouraged to retire to Charlesbourg, Lorette, and other country localities. Montcalm fixed his own headquarters near to the centre of the line of intrenchments at Beauport, having with him the major part of the regulars under the command of Sennezergues, as brigadier-general and next in military rank to De Levis. On the right were stationed the militia of the districts of Quebec and Three Rivers; while the left wing, under De Levis and Bougainville, was composed of militia belonging to the Montreal district, about four thousand strong. A reserve of upwards of two thousand colonial troops and Indians, and three hundred and fifty horsemen, was placed on the ascending ground in rear of the centre. In order that the

works should be constructed, higher up the country, at certain distances, for the troops to retire to, in case their works at the point should be forced. But M. de Vaudreuil overruled this most excellent plan, and insisted that, though we might demolish some houses in the city of Quebec with our shells, we could not bring our cannon to bear across the river so as to injure the defences of the place; it was therefore his firm opinion that it was their duty to stand upon the defensive with their whole force on the north side of the basin and not to divide it on any account whatever. To this plan M. de Montcalm was obliged to conform; and he made no detachments from his army except such as were absolutely necessary from the different movements made by General Wolfe."—*Beatson's "Naval and Military Memoirs," from* 1727 *to* 1790.

earliest intelligence might be received of the movements of the approaching enemy, the Governor directed that scouting parties of Canadians and Indians should keep watch along the banks of the river below. From these, by means of preconcerted signals visible between distant points, information was quickly transmitted up the river to Quebec.

Governor Vaudreuil, the Intendant, and the members of the civil government, removed from the city and established their quarters at Beauport. Most of the clergy remained till July, when the Bishop, *M. Pontbriant*, retired to Charlesbourg.

274. Contrary to the anticipations of those who had foretold disaster to the English fleet in consequence of the difficulties of the navigation, the enemy reached the Island of Orleans without having suffered any damage, and the troops disembarked on the Island of Orleans on June 27th.*

275. On June 29th, General Wolfe issued a manifesto, which he caused to be attached to the doors of one of the parish churches. In this document he announced that he had been sent by the King of England to avenge wrongs done to his colonial subjects, and to take from the crown of France the French North American territories. The Canadian colonists were told that they and their families, as well as their

* The advent of the fleet was first signalled to Quebec when it had passed Father Point. A second signal announced its arrival at Isle-aux-Condres on June 19. The display of French colours caused those who were watching on the bank to send couriers to Quebec with the information that succours had arrived from France.

The people, both those below and those at Quebec, were astonished at the impunity with which a fleet consisting of line-of-battle ships, frigates, &c., overcame the dangers of the navigation. The fact was, although all buoys and other guides had been carefully removed from the river, the English had found some excellent charts in the captured French vessels. Probably they also turned to account some French pilots who had unwittingly gone on board, misled by the false colours displayed at first.

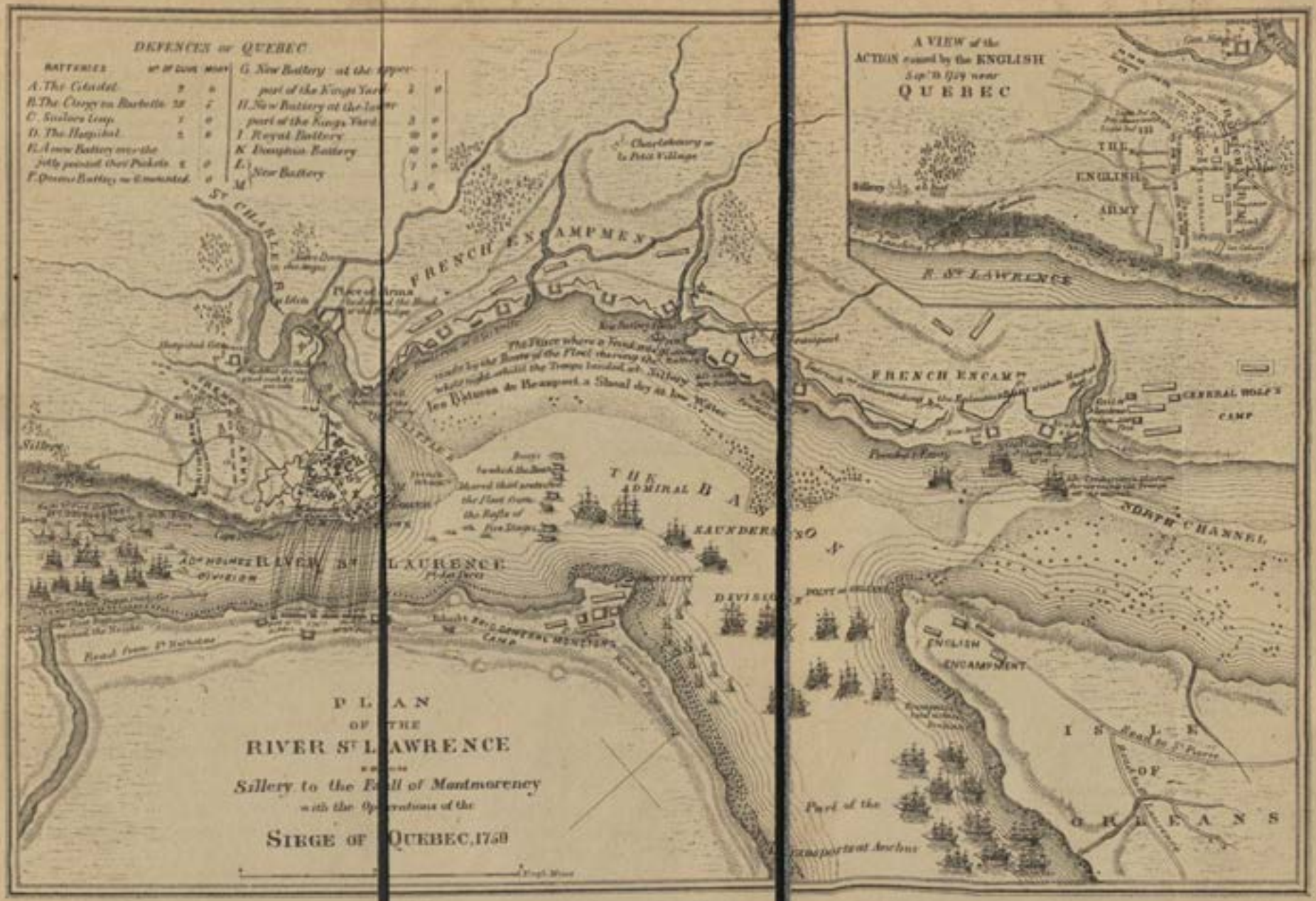
ministers of religion, were safe from the King's resentment, for that he had foreseen their calamitous condition, and desired to extend towards them the hand of friendship, and to afford them succour. He promised them his protection, and that, without the least molestation, they should continue in the enjoyment of their religion and property, provided they would abstain from taking part directly or indirectly in a quarrel which concerned only the two crowns. But if, on the contrary, with misplaced obstinacy, and imprudent, as well as useless valour, they took up arms, they might expect to endure all the cruel evils of war.

In course of the manifesto allusion was made to the cruelties alleged to have been practised by the French in America upon English colonists, to the power of England, her fidelity in fulfilling her engagements, and the folly of which the Canadians would be guilty in cherishing the hope of making a successful resistance to her will. The following were the closing paragraphs: "On the other hand, France, incapable of succouring her people, abandons their cause at the most critical time. Since the war began she has sent them some troops; to what end have these served? only to make her people experience more bitterly the weight of a hand which oppresses but does not succour. Let the Canadians consult their own good with prudence; their future lot now depends upon their own choice."

As might have been expected, the manifesto of the English general produced no effect upon the minds of the people.*

276. One of the three brigades of Wolfe's army was

* Probably very few of those intended to be reached knew anything about it, or cared to know. In a second manifesto, dated July 25, Wolfe referred to the little heed taken by the Canadians of his first, denouncing cruelties charged against them and their Indian allies, and threatening reprisals. This document was also affixed to the doors of a parish church.


DEFENCES OF QUEBEC
BATTERIES
A. The Citadel
B. The Cloyey en Barbette
C. Sailors Leap
D. The Hospital
E. A new Battery over the jetty pointed thro' Pickets
F. Queens Battery on Commanded
G. New Battery at the upper part of the Kings Yard
H. New Battery at the lower part of the Kings Yard
I. Royal Battery
K. Dauphin Battery
L. New Battery
M.
A VIEW of the ACTION caused by the ENGLISH Sep.r 13 1759 near QUEBEC
THE ENGLISH ARMY
R. St LAWRENCE
FRENCH ENCAMPMENT
FRENCH ENCAMPT
GENERAL WOLF'S CAMP
NORTH CHANNEL
THE ADMIRAL BANK
SAUNDERS'S
DIVISION
RIVER St LAURENCE
ENGLISH ENCAMPMENT
ISLE OF ORLEANS
Part of the Transports at Anchor
PLAN OF THE RIVER St LAWRENCE
Sillery to the Fall of Montmorency
with the Operations of the
SIEGE OF QUEBEC, 1759

directed to land on the south shore of the St Lawrence, near Point Levi, together with a portion of the artillery, in order to establish themselves and erect batteries in positions convenient for bombarding the city. This brigade included the 15th, 43d, 48th, and 78th regiments, numbering 3050 men, and was commanded by General Monckton. A portion of the corps of light infantry and rangers attached to the army were with this brigade.*

In the first instance, a division of the brigade was directed to land on the south shore in advance of the main body, and was charged with the duty of driving away any French force that might be stationed there, for the Admiral had sent a message to Wolfe intimating a belief that there were troops and artillery posted at Point Levi. On landing, they had to march some distance through the forest and along

* Small corps of rangers and light infantry, numbering two hundred and four hundred men respectively, were attached to Wolfe's army. They belonged to other regiments serving at that time in America, but not under Wolfe. As their chief duty was to skirmish in the front, or on the flanks of the regiments when marching, and, generally, to perform services requiring audacity and quickness of movement, they were distributed amongst the brigades as occasion demanded. It was between them, principally, and parties of Indians and Canadian militia or volunteers, that the innumerable petty encounters occurred throughout the campaign, of which we read so frequently in the narratives and journals. They often plundered the inhabitants unmercifully, and were guilty of many excesses. Some of these light troops were Anglo-Americans, and conversant with *bush-fighting* and the Indian modes of warfare. As the campaign progressed an unparalleled spirit of ferocity grew up on both sides, amongst the rangers as well as those similarly employed by the French. Lying in ambush and *scalping* were by no means confined to the Indians. The chief distinction seems to have been this: the Indians scalped indiscriminately all who fell into their hands, while the rangers only scalped the savages and the Canadian scouts found with the Indians, or habited like them. Horrible as it may seem, there can be no doubt but that white men on both sides practised scalping.

The British rangers were commanded by Major Scott and Captain Gorham, the light infantry by Colonel Howe and Major Dalling.

the shore, when several encounters, attended with loss on both sides, occurred between the light troops and French Indians. Several days elapsed before Monckton's brigade found itself securely encamped, and with batteries ready to fire upon the city. General Wolfe, who had already viewed and studied the French position from other points, proceeded in person to reconnoitre on the high ground of the south bank opposite to Quebec. This was on July 2d, and shortly afterwards a camp was fortified, and two batteries were in process of construction, under the direction of Colonel Burton of the 48th regiment. On the night of July 12th, these batteries were completed, and the bombardment of the town was commenced with six heavy guns and five mortars, supported by the discharge of shells from several vessels in the harbour. While the works were in progress the French maintained a brisk cannonade against them from the batteries of the city.

277. In the meantime the other two brigades, with a proportion of the rangers and artillery, and a body of grenadiers,* had disembarked on the Island of Orleans. General Townshend's brigade, which, on July 9th, was transferred to a position on the north bank of the St Lawrence, eastward of the river Montmorency, consisted of the 28th and 47th regiments, together with a battalion of the 60th or Royal Americans, and numbered fourteen hundred and fifty men.

The remaining brigade was under General Murray. It consisted of the 35th and 58th regiments, with another battalion of the 60th, amounting to nineteen hundred men.

* The grenadiers consisted of three hundred men, belonging to the 22d, 40th, and 45th regiments, none of which were then with Wolfe's army. This corps was commanded by *Colonel Guy Carleton*, afterwards *Lord Dorchester*, and Governor-General of Canada.

As the troops marched from the landing-places towards the upper end of the island, facing the city, the accompanying rangers and light infantry were obliged to skirmish with parties of Indians, in the same manner as those of Monckton's brigade had done at Point Levi. From the upper end of the island, Wolfe and his officers anxiously surveyed the intrenchments and other preparations made by the French for their reception. They were already partially informed respecting the heterogeneous composition of the army by which they were to be opposed. But now, when they regarded the surrounding scenery, and the dispositions which had been made for turning to account the great natural strength of the position, the British commanders perceived that the probabilities of success in their enterprise depended not so much upon the ability of a well-disciplined army to fight one that was numerically superior, as upon the possibility of bringing about a pitched battle on anything like equal terms. General Wolfe then issued the manifesto which has been adverted to, and after making some arrangements about the security of the encampment on the Island of Orleans, where the hospitals for the sick and wounded were established, he proceeded to confer with the Admiral. Thence he passed over to the south bank of the river to resume his examination of the French position from the heights above Point Levi, as has been already recorded.

278. Admiral Saunders and the other naval officers were in like manner busily engaged in acquainting themselves with the localities, and in making suitable dispositions of the different classes of vessels composing the fleet.

It is worthy of remark that, among those who were then serving in subordinate stations on board that fleet, there

were some who were destined to rise to great distinction in the world. In one of the ships there was a young midshipman named *Jervis*, afterwards the great English admiral, *Earl St Vincent*. *Palliser* also, subsequently the noted Admiral Sir Hugh Palliser, was there in command of the frigate *Mercury*. On board another vessel was *Robison*, who, a few years later, became a distinguished professor of science in Edinburgh, and the coadjutor of the celebrated James Watt in perfecting the theory and applications of some of the greatest discoveries of modern times. In the same vessel with Palliser, serving in the capacity of sailing-master, was *James Cook*, who became, in the peaceful pursuits of science, the most renowned amongst the many famous navigators of England.*

In the conference between General Wolfe and the Admiral, it was settled that, as soon as possible, a combined attack by the land and naval forces should be made upon the French position at Beauport. But this could not be immediately attempted until the land batteries were established, not only at Point Levi, for the purpose of

* See note, p. 377.

Besides the few named in the text, there were others taking part in the operations at Quebec in 1759 who subsequently rose to distinction. On the French side there was M. de Bougainville, afterwards the first French circumnavigator of the globe, a captain in the French fleet, and admiral, subjected, however, during the disastrous naval experience of his country, to some personal misfortunes. Bougainville survived the French Revolution, and died in 1811, aged eighty-two, a member of the Institute of Geography and the Bureau of Longitude, as well as a senator and Count of the Empire.

De Levis, second in command to Montcalm, became a Duke and a Field-Marshal of France, and lived till 1787.

Several of the English officers of Wolfe's army were afterwards noted in British, Colonial, and Canadian history—and amongst them Colonel *Carleton*, afterwards Governor-General Sir Guy Carleton, and Lord Dorchester.

bombarding the town and repelling attack, but also on the Island of Orleans, and on the east bank of the Montmorency. It was also necessary to ascertain the best positions in which to station the men-of-war for firing upon the French works, and to place buoys wherever they might be required.*

The month of July came nearly to a close before the necessary preparations for a joint attack upon Montcalm's intrenchments could be completed.

279. In the meantime the French on their part were not inactive. Immediately after the arrival of the English, taking advantage of the confusion created by a storm, they caused a number of fire-ships to float down towards the transports and men-of-war, in the hope of destroying them. The attempt was several times repeated. Although the scheme failed, yet much alarm was occasioned by the dangerous nature of the artifice.

Before Monckton's brigade was well established on the south shore, a detachment of fifteen or sixteen hundred men from the city crossed the river to attack and destroy

* We find, in the "Life of Captain Cook," the following reference to this service mentioned in the text:—"Preparatory to the combined attack on the position between Beauport and Montmorency, it was necessary to procure accurate soundings between the Island of Orleans and the shore of Beauport—a service of great danger, which could only be performed in the night-time. Captain Hugh Palliser intrusted the duty to Cook, who executed it in the most complete manner. He had scarcely finished when he was discovered, and a number of Indians in canoes started to cut him off. The pursuit was so close, that they jumped in at the boat's stern as Cook leaped out to gain the protection of the English sentinels. The boat was carried off in triumph by the Indians. Cook, however, furnished the Admiral with as correct a draft of the channel and soundings as could have afterwards been made when the English were in peaceable possession of Quebec. Not long afterwards Cook was employed to make a survey of the whole river below Quebec, and his chart was published by the Admiralty. He was then promoted, and served on the Halifax station all the ensuing winter.

the incomplete works. This attempt also, which was somewhat in violation of the understanding that an essentially defensive system should be followed, completely failed. It had been assented to by Montcalm on the Governor's recommendation, and chiefly in consequence of the urgent representations of the citizens of Quebec, who apprehended the destruction of their property and lives when the English should have firmly established themselves on the south side with heavy ordnance. They crossed the St Lawrence several miles above the city, and then marched through the woods towards the position of the English. The force was partly composed of civilians and youths belonging to the city schools. Before they reached their destination they fell into inextricable confusion, one division of them mistaking the other for enemies, and the two then firing upon each other. After this, they retired without having done anything to injure the English. Their success, in case they had reached the works, was, at best, extremely doubtful. Wolfe, in his report, said, "Unluckily they fell into confusion, fired upon one another, and went back again, by which we lost an opportunity of defeating this large detachment." This affair occurred in the night of July 12th. At all the British posts and encampments, parties of Indians and volunteers hovered near to harass the soldiers, and to cut off stragglers, who were fired upon by enemies from places of concealment in the forest, and then scalped. On one occasion, early in the campaign, they stole upon Captain Gorham and his company of rangers near the Montmorency, and succeeded in killing twelve of them close to Townshend's encampment, escaping with but slight damage to themselves. Everywhere it became dangerous for the English soldiers to move about, except in considerable bodies, and maintaining perfect order and discipline.

This system of petty warfare was kept up during the greater part of the campaign.

280. The fire of the English ships, in conjunction with that of the batteries, on the south shore, inflicted infinite injury upon the city. The buildings in the lower town were soon reduced to ruins. Fires in the upper town were of almost daily occurrence. Sometimes several buildings were seen blazing at once, presenting the appearance of a vast conflagration. On the 17th of July, and again on the 19th, large numbers of buildings were set on fire by the shot, which continued a long time burning, as if the whole city had become a prey to the flames. Before the siege ended, more than five hundred buildings were destroyed, including public and private edifices, the cathedral, and other places of worship. Of the inhabitants, the non-combatants who had not retired before fled for refuge into the country. Many were killed and wounded, struck by cannon balls, some in the streets and thoroughfares, others within the walls of public places of resort and private dwellings.

By the middle of August, the city was virtually destroyed —most of its resident population having vanished, its principal habitations and edifices in ruins, and even the pieces of ordnance on the ramparts for the most part rendered useless.

281. No considerable attempt had yet been made by the British commanders to force Montcalm's intrenchments, or to draw him out to a battle. On the left bank of the Montmorency, where, as has been stated, General Townshend's brigade was encamped, Wolfe had caused batteries and redoubts to be established. From these the left of the French line of intrenchments was cannonaded, while frequent approaches for the same purpose were made by the

smaller armed craft of the British, which came across the channel between Orleans and the mainland. But these attempts produced no material effect, because the French troops were well sheltered behind their earthworks. Endeavours were also made in vain to find some crossing-place higher up on the left bank of the Montmorency. On these occasions the right bank was found to be everywhere carefully guarded by troops, and artillery posted in impregnable positions. The English leader found it impossible to accomplish his purpose of bringing his skilful and watchful opponent to a general action. At the same time, while marching to and fro amongst the thickets which fringed the rocky bank of the Montmorency, his own soldiers were exposed to the constant attacks of the Indians, who fired upon them from concealed positions, and inflicted severe losses.

At length a plan was matured which seemed to promise success. Towards its outlet the river was fordable at low water. The nearest portions of the French intrenched line curved outwards. A redoubt and battery mounting five guns, and situated within musket-shot of the earthworks behind which the French troops and marksmen were sheltered, commanded the ford. On the other side of the Montmorency, occupied by Townshend's brigade, the bank rose to a great height. There Wolfe had caused batteries to be constructed, from which, with perhaps fifty pieces of artillery, the gunners projected shot and shell against the French left. Lower down upon the rocky bottom of the Montmorency he had planted twenty-eight cannon upon the hulls of a couple of sunken small transport ships, and thence also the French intrenchments could be cannonaded. But the French five-gun battery near the ford was, from the nature of the locality, out of the reach

of the English cannon, the discharges from which passed over it. Not far distant from the five-gun battery, on the right of it, in the direction of Beauport, there was another redoubt and a battery of three guns.

It was arranged that two small vessels, armed with cannon, should be brought as near as possible to the last-named redoubt and battery in the course of 31st July, and there allowed to be stranded when the time for action arrived. At the same time, a ship of sixty guns, the *Centurion*,* was appointed to take up a station in the north channel, between Orleans and the mainland, opposite to the battery which commanded the ford, for the purpose of silencing the French cannon, and covering the passage of Wolfe's troops towards the intrenchments. All the soldiers who could be spared from the camps of the three brigades were detached for the contemplated attack. Those from Point Levi and the Island of Orleans embarked in barges and in the boats of the squadron before mid-day. When the appointed time arrived, a strong detachment having been sent up the left bank of the Montmorency to engage the attention of the French in that direction, the *Centurion* and the two smaller vessels being in their assigned places, a furious cannonade was begun. Including the artillery at Townshend's camp, and that of the *Centurion* and of the other two vessels, upwards of one hundred pieces played upon the French works near the Falls of Montmorency, while, at the same time, the batteries at Point Levi poured shot and shell into the town. More than one thousand barges and boats conveyed soldiers to the point of disem-

* This was the former flag-ship of Commodore Anson, who had sailed round the globe in her. Anson himself had retired from the active naval service some years before; and in 1759 was the First Lord of the British Admiralty.

barkation between the *Centurion* and the shallows at the mouth of the Montmorency. As the heavily-laden boats could not be brought quite close to the dry ground, and as the bottom was rocky and extremely rough, the soldiers could not land without wading, or in an orderly manner. Much delay and confusion occurred. The first troops to land consisted of thirteen companies of grenadiers, with two hundred men of the 60th or Royal Americans. The redoubt nearest to the mouth of the Montmorency was immediately vacated, the French gunners retiring behind their intrenchments. According to preconcerted arrangements, the troops already landed should now have formed in four columns, and awaited the arrival of those belonging to Monckton's corps, not yet ashore, and also of the brigades of Townshend and Murray, which were, at the moment, preparing to cross the ford; but owing to some misunderstanding the General's instructions were not followed.

In the meantime, Montcalm and De Levis had remained during several hours uncertain as to where the English intended to make their attack. Directions were given for the men to hold themselves ready everywhere along the whole line.* But as soon as the French general saw the English boats hastening towards the shallows below the Falls, and the other dispositions preparatory to the crossing of the ford by the divisions of Townshend and Murray, he

* The attack was not commenced before five P.M., although Murray and Townshend's brigades were ready four hours earlier to march down from the camp to the ford, and Monckton's men had embarked in the barges at noon. The delay formed a part of the plan of operations of the English commanders, by whose orders the barges conveying the troops were kept in motion upon the water in different directions until near the hour when the state of the tide would favour the passage of the ford. The object was to keep the French in the dark as long as possible respecting the real point of attack, and thus prevent the concentration of their troops towards the left of their line of intrenchments.

instantly penetrated through their designs. Some newly-arrived militia were at once sent to strengthen the left, and a detachment was forwarded to a point above the Falls to reinforce the guard stationed there. The commander at this point was ordered to force his way across to the left bank, and, descending to the camp of Townshend, to fall upon it and capture it, weakened as the position would be by the departure of most of the soldiers, withdrawn to assault the French lines. The skill and foresight of General Montcalm were never displayed to greater advantage than on this occasion. But Wolfe, with equal sagacity, had also foreseen what might happen if Townshend's position was left defenceless, and had provided against it by retaining, as has been related, a strong detachment on the left bank.

We can only conjecture what the result of the operations of July 31st might have been if General Wolfe's orders and dispositions had been strictly executed.

According to his own account of the affair, which is to be found in his report of September 2d following, the enterprise of July 31st was undertaken with the hope that, when Montcalm should see the British landed, and posted in a position to seriously threaten the left of his line of intrenchments, he would move forward to defend his detached works, and risk a general battle; but, if the French leader should not follow that course, Wolfe judged that he himself would at least gain the opportunity of determining upon the expediency of assailing him behind his intrenched line, as well as upon the particular point where it would be best to make the attempt. With a view, therefore, to the probability of an engagement, a great quantity of artillery stores had been placed upon an eminence on the left, or east side, of the Montmorency, whence some portions of the

French line could be cannonaded. But, as has been said, the detached outpost was vacated, and it turned out that there would be no battle unless one could be brought on by proceeding to attack the intrenchments. Wolfe then gave orders that the grenadiers and Royal Americans should commence the assault, after forming in the manner prescribed, and after the other corps of the army should have arrived to support them. The grenadiers neither waited for the other divisions nor formed themselves into four columns, but hurried forward in a confused and disorderly manner. The French remained inactive until the foremost of the assailants came within a few yards of the intrenchment, when they delivered their fire with such rapidity and deadly effect, that the British grenadiers were instantly repelled with great slaughter. By the time the survivors, with all the wounded who could be brought away, regained the redoubt, Monckton's troops had landed, and stood on the shore in perfect order. The brigades of Townshend and Murray were marching to the scene of action, also in perfect order. The grenadiers endeavoured to form in the vicinity of the redoubt, but could not do so under the continuous discharge of musketry from the intrenchment, by which many, both officers and men, were wounded or killed. In continuation of his report to the British Minister, Wolfe says, "In this situation they continued for some time, unable to form under so hot a fire; and having many gallant officers wounded, who, careless of their persons, had been solely intent upon their duty. I saw the absolute necessity of calling them off, that they might form themselves behind Brigadier Monckton's corps, which was now landed and drawn up on the beach in extreme good order. By this new accident and this second delay it was near night, and a storm came on, and the tide began to make, so that I

thought it most advisable not to persevere in so difficult an attack, lest, in case of a repulse, the retreat of Brigadier Townshend's corps might be hazardous and uncertain. Our artillery had a great effect on the enemy's left; and it is probable, if those accidents I have spoken of had not happened, we should have penetrated there. The French did not attempt to interrupt our march. Some of their savages came down to murder such wounded as could not be brought off, and to scalp the dead, as their custom is. If the attack had succeeded, our loss must have been certainly great, and theirs inconsiderable from the shelter the neighbouring woods afforded them. The River St Charles remained still to be passed before the town was invested. All those circumstances I considered, but the desire to act in conformity to the King's intentions induced me to make this trial. . . . The enemy have been fortifying ever since with care, so as to make a second attempt still more dangerous." After the grenadiers were withdrawn, the troops belonging to Monckton's brigade re-embarked in the barges to return to their positions on the south shore, while the brigades of Townshend and Murray re-occupied the encampment on the left side of the Falls of Montmorency. The *Centurion* rejoined her division of the fleet, but the other two armed vessels, which had been stranded on the Beauport shore, were burnt to prevent the French from taking possession of them.

In "the fight of the Beauport Flats," as Wolfe's attack has been styled, the English lost from four hundred and fifty to five hundred men in killed and wounded. It is not known what the loss of the French was.*

* Garneau speaks of the affair of July 31st as an important victory, ascribing the result to General Levis' skilful dispositions. He states the British loss to have been five hundred, including officers. Some authorities

282. In conjunction with the operations in the immediate vicinity of Quebec, the British commanders sent detachments of their forces, on several occasions, to points along the banks of the St Lawrence, both above and below the city. There can be no question but that, while some of these subsidiary or secondary operations were legitimately connected with the main purposes of the campaign—the reduction of Quebec and of the whole colony—they were in numerous instances converted into unjustifiable aggressions upon the property and even the lives of the non-combatants. Unhappily the annals of warfare abound in examples of a like nature when hostilities are carried on in

have said four hundred, others as high as seven hundred. The truth is, the precise losses on both sides have remained unknown.

On the day after the battle Wolfe censured the conduct of the grenadiers in his general orders: "The check which the grenadiers met with yesterday will, it is hoped, be a lesson to them for the time to come. Such impetuous, irregular, and unsoldierlike proceeding puts it out of the power of commanders to form any disposition for an attack, and out of the general's to execute his plans. The grenadiers could not suppose that they alone could beat the French army, and therefore it was necessary that the corps under General Monckton and Brigadier Townshend should have time to join. The first fire was sufficient to repulse men who had lost all sense of order and military discipline. Amherst's and the Highland regiments, by the soldierlike and cool manner in which they performed their duty, would undoubtedly have beaten back the Canadian army if it had ventured to attack them. *The loss, however, is inconsiderable,* and may be easily repaired when a favourable opportunity offers, if the men will show proper attention to their officers." These last words do not import a loss of from five to seven hundred men. Wolfe, however, probably referred only to the *killed,* as the larger portion of the wounded might be expected to recover and rejoin the ranks.

Garneau's reflections relative to Wolfe's sentiments on the subject of the check at Montmorency, and about the British people, as being in bad taste, have been justly objected to. None of the numerous writers in the English language have given so much expression to unworthy prejudices in discoursing of Wolfe's and Montcalm's career as Garneau has done in French, which is to be regretted, because of the importance of his work in many respects.

an enemy's country, so that such proceedings, by their frequency, are seldom regarded with the reprobation which they merit. The memory of them is often shrouded in the homage universally accorded to the reputation of successful military and naval leaders. Those who remained in the settlements along the St Lawrence, whose fathers, husbands, sons, and brothers were in the ranks of the army with Montcalm, naturally were unfriendly to the foreign soldiers; and when numerous deserters from the intrenchments at Beauport came, during the months of July and August, to gather the crops for the maintenance of their starving families, there was enough of a show of armed opposition to the detachments of rangers and light infantry to justify, in the soldier's mind, the wholesale devastation of fields, and the plundering and burning of many habitations.

It is to be hoped that the accounts of the proceedings of some of the detached bodies of the invading forces have been grossly exaggerated. We are told of places below Quebec where all the habitations were burned, the fruit trees cut down, and the cattle, as well as movables and clothing, carried off.* At St Joachim, a Captain *Montgomery*† is reported to have caused persons taken captive—

* See Garneau, vol. ii. chap. i., who quotes from an old journal: "We burned and destroyed more than fourteen hundred fine farm-houses; for we, during the siege, were masters of a great part of their country; so that, it is thought, it will take them *many a century* to recover the damage." Correctly quoted the italicised words should have been *half a century*.

† The Christian name of this Montgomery not being given in the original record, it has been assumed, until recently, that he was the *Richard* Montgomery who fell at Quebec in 1775. But Richard Montgomery, in the year 1759, belonged to the 17th regiment, then serving at Lake Champlain, under General Amherst, and subsequently in 1760 under Colonel Haviland at Montreal.

It has also been shown that there was a Captain *Alexander* Montgomery of the 43d regiment serving under Wolfe in 1759. It further appears that

in this instance with arms in their hands—to be put to death in an inhuman manner, and then scalped. We read also of excesses committed in a number of other places along the banks of the St Lawrence, and on the Island of Orleans.* In most of the villages visited by the soldiers, the religious instincts of the people were offended and their feelings outraged by seeing the churches as well as the houses of the priests converted into barracks. It has been

Alexander Montgomery sold out of the service in 1766, while Richard remained in the British army until 1772. Alexander, therefore, and not Richard Montgomery, was the man whose conduct at St Joachim is referred to in the text.

The merit of clearing up this historical point is due to Mr J. M. Le Moine and Mr Coventry of Coburg, Canada West, who have thus had the satisfaction of rescuing the memory of General Richard Montgomery from an undeserved and most odious imputation.

* M. Garneau represents General Wolfe as the wilful author of these barbarities, and his language in this respect is very severe. He says—"After destroying the city, *General Wolfe fell upon the country parishes.*" Again, "*Wolfe chose* the night-time for committing those ravages;" and "as the season advanced, this war of brigands extended itself, *for Wolfe indulged in it to avenge himself for the checks he had received,*" &c., &c.—See Note, p. 389.

The following atrocious incident stands on record in "Knox's Historical Journal," vol. i. p. 322:—"Captain Starks of the rangers sent his lieutenant and twenty men on a scout to the southward yesterday (July 8). They returned to-day, and brought in two prisoners, a lad of fifteen and a man of forty, who was very sullen and would answer no questions. This officer (the lieutenant) also took two male children; and as he and his party were returning, they saw themselves closely pursued by a much superior body, some of whom were Indians. He wished to be freed from the children, as, by their innocent cries and screeches, they directed the pursuers where to follow. The lieutenant made signs to them to go away and leave him, but they not understanding him, redoubled their lamentations; and finding himself hard pressed, he gave orders that the infants should be taken aside and killed, which was done, though the officer declared to me that it was with the greatest reluctance that can be conceived. As the other prisoners (the lad and man) were brought to the post where I was on duty with the ranging captain, I conversed with the lad for some time."

suggested, however, without any desire to palliate outrages committed by the lawless rangers, that during the month of August, when most of these destructive proceedings took place, there were a great many deserters from the army at Beauport. It was harvest-time, when their famishing families must gather in their crops or perish. Montcalm could not prevent desertion at this season, although he had recourse to scourging and even hanging. They left his ranks in scores, and made off for their homes and their fields, so that at length he was obliged to acquiesce in an extorted leave of absence for a brief period to bodies of many hundreds. This being the case, we have a clue to the source of the armed opposition which the detachments of light troops and rangers encountered at St Joachim, Chateau Richer, and other places—such opposition appearing, in the eyes of those reckless soldiers, ample justification for the destruction of houses and other property.

In some cases the property destroyed in the country parts belonged to owners resident in the city, who were thus doubly losers, by devastations without and the effects of bombardment within.*

The consequences of the ravages committed on the farms

* In a memoir drawn up by Bishop Pontbriant in November 1759, for the information of the French Minister, it is stated that the buildings of the Quebec Seminary were so much damaged in the siege that there remained only the kitchen of the establishment for the lodging of the curé and his assistant, while in the country the enemy had devastated four farms and burnt three large mills, which at that time furnished nearly all the revenue of that religious community.

There is every reason to believe that the English officers and troops generally were far from deserving the imputation of cruelty towards non-combatants which has been referred to in a former page. Wolfe himself is well known to have expressly forbidden violence and plundering on pain of his severe displeasure, and, in case of proof, the punishment of death. Moreover, the robberies of the inhabitants, ascribed by excited and prejudiced writers to the English, were doubtless often committed by parties of

of the unfortunate inhabitants were rendered more serious still, by the enemy discovering the places of concealment in the forest in which they had been recommended by the Governor to hide their movables, stocks of provisions, and animals, at the commencement of the campaign. Thus, left without means of subsistence, without habitations, and without implements of labour, the poor plundered colonists would have to begin life again after savage fashion, with their families sheltered under bark cabins, and no other food than the casual produce of hunting and fishing. Bishop Pontbriant, in his appeal in behalf of the destitute inhabitants, said they would require twenty years' time to enable them to recover their ancient condition.

283. At an early stage in the campaign both Wolfe and

French and Indian marauders, especially the latter, whom the French could not restrain.

In one French account of the campaign (that of J. C. Panet, notary of Quebec, father of the Hon. J. A. Panet, the President of the Old House of Assembly of Lower Canada), we read as follows:—"At half-past three A.M. (on July 21st) the twelve hundred men made a descent at Point-aux-Trembles, and were received by the fire of about forty savages, who killed seven and wounded as many. They surrounded the houses near the church, and made a number of prisoners, of whom thirteen were women, ladies of the city who had retired to the place for refuge. The prisoners were treated with all possible consideration. General Wolfe headed the troops, and M. Stobo was there. But that which was most lamentable was, *that the English caused no injury to be done*, while the savages *plundered the houses and stole the property of almost all the refugees*. About nine A.M. next day the enemy sent messengers to a parley, offering to set ashore all the female prisoners on condition of our suffering to pass down unmolested by our fire a barge loaded with their sick and wounded. The offer was accepted." On this occasion the officers behaved with the utmost politeness and kindness, and as it was intended to augment the fire of the batteries, promised to give till nine P.M., so that the released prisoners might have time to retire whithersoever they desired. The officers also furnished their names and those of their regiments, &c., to the prisoners, so that in case of future emergency they might be found, and their protection be the more easily obtained, should that be required.

Saunders had arrived at a conviction of the necessity of bringing about a battle with General Montcalm. But in order to effect that, they must either go in and fight him where he was, or induce him to bring his army out. The Admiral, however, could not cause his great ships to float near enough to the front of Montcalm's intrenchments, in order to aid the land forces in storming the position, since the water was too shallow. For the army alone to attempt even to land on such ground as fronted the French lines, was to tempt a worse fate than that of Abercrombie's troops at Carillon. Wolfe also found out by experience that a passage could not be forced from his position on the left bank of the Montmorency so as to cross above the Falls and reach the intrenchments from behind. Moreover, he was completely baffled in his plans for penetrating through the front of the extreme left on the 31st of July. Altogether the French position proved to be most difficult of access, and the two commanders of the British forces were obliged to conclude that it was unassailable by any means at their disposal.

Again, the French general seemed determined to adhere to his strictly defensive policy, and would not afford his adversaries the opportunity they desired, by coming out to fight, notwithstanding some temptations which were presented. He did not try to beat Wolfe's army in detail, when he saw that it was divided, and the parts distributed in the three encampments, at the Montmorency, the Island of Orleans, and Point Levi. Nor did he move out to defend the country from devastation by the English troops. In short, Montcalm's army lay intrenched at Beauport, exclusively for the purpose of preventing the English from taking the capital, and it was plain that,

excepting in a case involving its immediate peril, he would not risk a battle.

When August came, General Wolfe and the Admiral began to fear that the whole season would pass away before Quebec was reduced. They had already, in the course of July, considered the question of a possible approach to the city, after effecting a landing upon the north shore somewhere above. They had together passed up in a boat and carefully examined the river bank in that direction. On this occasion, July 18th, several war vessels and two transports full of troops passed by the town to beyond Sillery. The result of Wolfe's investigation is best expressed in his own words—"I found there the same attention on the enemy's side; and great difficulties on ours, arising from the nature of the ground and the obstacles to our communication with the fleet. But what I feared most was, that if we should land between the river and Cape Rouge, the body first landed would not be reinforced before they were attacked by the enemy's whole army. Notwithstanding these difficulties, I thought once of attempting it, but perceiving that the enemy, jealous of the design, were preparing against it, and had actually brought artillery, which, being so near Quebec, they could increase as they pleased, to play upon the shipping, and as it must have been many hours before we could attack them, even supposing a favourable night for the boats to pass by the town unhurt, it seemed so hazardous that I thought it best to desist."

Having for the present abandoned the idea of attempting to land a force above the city, Wolfe returned to Montmorency. To attract Montcalm's attention in such a way as to induce him to weaken his strength at Beauport, by

keeping a strong detachment of his army between Quebec and Cape Rouge, or higher up, the ships and troops which had already passed upwards were left there. Colonel Carleton was directed to land at Point-aux-Trembles, which he did, and had a skirmish with Indians.

284. It was about this time that M. de Bougainville was detached from the main body at Beauport, with a strong corps, to watch the movements of the English on the river above the city. He established his headquarters at Cape Rouge. During the remainder of the campaign, Bougainville, according to instructions, moved along the north bank between Sillery and Cape Rouge, following the motions of the English, ready at all times to charge them in case a landing should be attempted. A battery of four guns had been placed on the high land near Sillery soon after the 18th of July.

285. Immediately after the check which Wolfe received at Montmorency, he detached General Murray, with a corps of twelve hundred men, to proceed up the St Lawrence. A portion of the fleet under Admiral Holmes conveyed the troops. Murray and Holmes were directed to capture or destroy several French frigates, which were known to have retired towards Three Rivers, and to endeavour to open communications with General Amherst, of whose movements and progress no information had as yet been received. General Murray was likewise ordered to avail himself of any favourable opportunities that might occur of bringing on conflicts with the French troops. Bougainville repulsed two attempts at landing which were made by Murray's force near Point-aux-Trembles. Subsequently the latter succeeded in effecting a disembarkation at Deschambault, where a magazine of provisions, and spare clothing, and baggage, belonging to the French army, were

burned, and some prisoners taken. Some papers fell into Murray's hands at this place, which furnished the information that General Amherst had taken possession of Crown Point and was preparing to follow Bourlamaque to Isle-aux-Noix. From the prisoners it was learned that Niagara had surrendered to General Johnson. On receiving this intelligence General Wolfe ordered Murray to rejoin the army.

286. During the month of August, while detachments of British soldiers, consisting chiefly of light infantry and rangers, were employed in devastating the country parts, as has been already mentioned, the troops and ships above the city menaced the magazines of provisions and ammunition at Point-aux-Trembles. The bombardment of the city from Point Levi was continued as before, and occasional demonstrations were made by the English forces, as if they were about to begin another attack upon the lines at Beauport. At the same time the British general, exhausted by fatigue and anxiety, was laid prostrate by a fever. Being of a weakly constitution, his illness became dangerous, and for some time it appeared that recovery was improbable.

On the other side, in the city and the camp, the aspect of affairs was far from encouraging. Amongst the remaining population of the devoted town there was distress arising from scarcity of food, conflagrations, and the increasing fire of the English batteries. Robberies and violence, perpetrated by the populace and soldiers, were not unfrequent, and very severe measures were resorted to for repressing them.* A general feeling of anxiety respecting

* In Panet's fragmentary journal of the siege we read, under date July 23d—"On account of the considerable robberies committed at Quebec by the sailors, as much as by the soldiers and militia, I reported that it was

the result of the campaign prevailed in the camp. The progress of Amherst by way of Lake Champlain, and the surrender of Niagara, greatly excited the minds of the French commanders and soldiers, while the loss of numbers by desertion of militiamen threatened to become serious. Food and necessaries* were but scantily served out to men whose powers of endurance were all the time sorely taxed by the harassing nature of the service in which they were engaged—always labouring at the intrenchments, watching and kept on the alert day and night, in the expectation of the enemy's assaults. It had become well known that detachments of English troops had passed up the river, as well as many ships of war, and transports carrying men and munitions, and also that Bougainville, with a strong corps, had been dispatched from the camp towards Point-aux-Trembles.

Apprehensions about what might be going on in that quarter, and distrust relative to the safety of the magazines and their communications with Montreal, tended still fur-

necessary for the Governor and Intendant to issue an ordinance for the summary infliction of the punishment of death. The plan was approved and carried out." Again on the 29th—"A man was hung for robbery;" and on the 31st—"Two soldiers were hung at 3 P.M.," &c.

* It is worthy of note that the French soldiers behind the intrenchments were not always sufficiently supplied with ammunition, even on critical occasions. The authority cited above, in explaining the state of affairs on July 31st, when Wolfe's attack was made on the left of the French lines, says—"We had about twelve thousand men assembled, but, which is singular, scarcely any bullets in the camp. The redoubt and battery had been abandoned owing to this want. Happily the first two thousand of our enemies were so warmly received that they re-embarked in their barges. Five thousand more, who marched at a slow pace, and who crossed the ford in order of battle, only came within two musket-shots, and then retired when they saw the others re-embark. What a happy circumstance that they did not know of the scarcity of ball! What negligence there had been on our side, and what a calamity it would have been had the English continued their attack!"

ther to depress the spirits of Montcalm's men. The French general himself, although he assumed a confident air, was perplexed and disquieted on the subject of Murray's expedition to the Upper St Lawrence. He felt that his position was becoming daily more critical, for if his supplies of provisions and ammunition should be cut off by his adversaries, he would be compelled to quit his intrenchments, and incur the risks of fighting for their recovery on disadvantageous ground. He caused two of the sentinels who were posted on the river bank above Quebec to be executed for negligence, but found it difficult to satisfy or re-assure the Governor respecting the sufficiency of his measures for the security of the river bank. The Governor was solicitous about the small coves near Sillery, and the pathways leading up to the crest of the precipitous bank, and especially about the *Anse-des-Meres*. Montcalm wrote to him twice in response to suggestions. It was generally known in the camp what was the real nature of Montcalm's and the Governor's mutual sentiments; for the general made no secret of his contempt for Vaudreuil's inaptitude for military matters. This, together with the state of feeling which was described in last chapter as subsisting between the different branches of the public service, naturally tended to produce a disheartening influence on all minds, and to diminish the prospects of a happy termination to the campaign.

The colours in which the character and disposition of the English had been set before the French Canadians by the Governor's proclamations, and otherwise, had, in the first instance, strengthened Montcalm. But now those representations exercised a contrary effect, and tended to augment desertion, when the poor colonists thought of their defenceless homes, and learned that their enemies were engaged in devastating their farms, and burning their

habitations. Thus, by the end of August, there were few in Montcalm's army who would not have quickened, if that were possible, the advent of winter, to afford a respite from present hardships and perplexities.

Early in September it became known throughout the camp that important changes were being made in the disposition of the English forces. It was comprehended by all in the French camp that the enemy must either attempt some decisive operation, or prepare to retire before the approach of winter.

287. While General Wolfe was confined to his quarters by fever, he called a council of war, in order to determine the best means of bringing the campaign to a decisive issue. Of this proceeding he says in his report of September 2d:—"I found myself so ill, and am still so weak, that I begged the general officers to consult together for the public utility. They are of opinion that as more ships and provisions are now yet above the town, they should try, by conveying above the town a corps of four or five thousand men, which is nearly the whole strength of the army, after the Points of Levi and Orleans are left in a proper state of defence, to draw the enemy from their present situation and bring them to an action. I have acquiesced in their proposal, and we are preparing to put it in execution."

In committing to writing this important decision, ten days before the time of making the attempt, Wolfe could not foresee that the announcement of the design, and the news of its successful accomplishment, together with information of his own death at the moment of victory, would all reach his countrymen in England at the same time.*

* The dispatch from Wolfe, dated September 2d, reached England only two days before another, dated September 20th, from General Townshend,

Towards the close of that same dispatch, Wolfe said—"We have had almost daily skirmishes with the Indians, in which they are generally defeated, but not without loss on our side. By the loss of officers you may perceive that the army in general is much weakened. By the nature of the river the most formidable part of this armament is deprived of the power of acting, yet we have almost the whole force of Canada to oppose. In this situation, there is such a choice of difficulties, that I own myself at a loss how to determine. The affairs of Great Britain I know require the most vigorous measures, but then the courage of a handful of brave troops should be exerted only where there is some hope of a favourable event."

In the meantime, Wolfe's gallant opponent, who was destined on the same occasion to fulfil his own former prophetic words relative to "burying himself in the ruins of the colony," becoming more disturbed by the increasing display of the enemy's naval strength above the city—the ships now extending all the way from Sillery to Point-aux-Trembles—reinforced Bougainville with some of his best troops and a large body of the Indians.

288. On Monday, September 3d, the whole of the troops which had been encamped near the Falls of Montmorency, were moved across the channel to the Island of Orleans, and thence over to Point Levi. The intended movement was well known in the French camp, but General Montcalm did not see fit to molest the retiring brigades.* By

communicating a report of Wolfe's death, and the capitulation of Quebec. The two dispatches were published in England *together*.

* Some demonstrations had been made to the north of the left of the French lines, as if they were about to cross the Montmorency and fall upon the rear of Wolfe's troops. The 43d and 78th regiments, however, were embarked in barges from Point Levi, and remained on the water four hours,

the evening of the 4th, the evacuation was completed, and the bulk of the English troops were encamped at Point Levi. On the same day it became generally known that a project was on foot for transporting the greater part of the army, under the three brigadiers and the general in person, if his health and strength permitted, to some point above the city. Wolfe had received a letter from Amherst, and encouraged those about him by informing them that he did not yet despair of seeing the commander-in-chief before the close of the campaign.

289. On September 5th, the English regiments began their march along the south bank of the St Lawrence, towards the river *Etchemin*, suitable dispositions having been made for the protection of the posts on the Island of Orleans and Point Levi, where those not intended to take part in the expedition were chiefly encamped.* As they forded that river, near to its mouth, a French battery, established on the opposite bank of the St Lawrence, near Sillery, played upon them without effect. Higher up a cove was reached where the land forces were embarked—some in flat-bottomed boats, and the remainder in the ships. As the flotilla ascended, demonstrations were made opposite to several points between Sillery and Point-aux-Trembles, as if it was intended to land and commence an attack. Every-

covered by numerous frigates and sloops of war, all so disposed as to lead the French to apprehend an attack upon the front of their intrenchments, which occupied Montcalm's attention, and prevented the molestation of Townshend's troops while they evacuated their position on the left bank of the Falls of Montmorency.

* Colonel Guy Carleton was left in charge at the Island of Orleans, with the 2d Battalion of Royal Americans and some marines. Colonel Burton, with the 48th Regiment and detachments from other corps, remained at Point Levi to guard the batteries.

where the French had posts established, and a strong corps under Bougainville was held in readiness to move upon the English on the instant of their landing. Wolfe, in spite of his bodily weakness, accompanied the army, and vigilantly superintended the general operations.

Before this time General Montcalm had detached M. de Levis with a corps of several hundred men to Montreal, to superintend arrangements in that quarter for preventing the descent of an enemy from above, and also to co-operate with Bourlamaque on the Richelieu, and towards Lake Champlain. Thus the French commander, when affairs at Quebec came to a crisis, was without the assistance of one who has been pronounced the ablest of all the officers serving under him.

290. While the English forces were operating above Quebec, some being on board the ships of the squadron, others temporarily stationed at St Nicholas, General Wolfe made his final dispositions for accomplishing a landing on the north shore, at a place which was kept secret, as well from his own soldiers as from the French, until the moment should arrive for executing his project. The French were deceived as to the real point of attack by the constant movement up and down the river of the armed vessels and bodies of men in flat-bottomed boats, by whom their posts were menaced for the express purpose of disguising Wolfe's intentions. Montcalm himself would not leave his intrenchments at Beauport, feeling satisfied that he had guarded against all danger from above, and persisting in the belief that the bulk of the English troops were still below the town.

291. Between the 6th and 12th of September the intentions of the English general, disguised as has been stated,

were not carried into effect, chiefly on account of the unfavourable state of the weather. In that interval, while all was in readiness on the part of the assailants, the defenders on the north shore appeared to be everywhere equally ready to repel any attempts at landing. The diverse characters of the opposing forces were manifested in the ways in which their respective movements were conducted. Whenever the vessels came to anchor opposite places on the bank which seemed to be favourable for disembarking, and when the barges, full of men, showed themselves, the detachments on shore would form in line on the commanding heights; the horsemen would then dismount, and while their field-pieces were discharged, expending ammunition to no purpose, the whole would run down the steep bank, with loud shouts, towards their lowest defences. On the water, the disciplined English soldiers would remain silent and attentive in their boats, unmindful of the noisy demonstrations on shore, reserving their fire for the word of command, and waiting in patience to see whether or not it was the real intention of their officers to attempt a landing.

292. On the 11th of September, in the general orders distributed among the troops, all were directed "to hold themselves in readiness to land and attack the enemy;" and all the instructions necessary to prevent confusion were made known. The men were told that the French forces were now divided, and that, while there was great scarcity of provisions amongst them, and much discontent, the departure of their second officer in command for Montreal gave reason to believe that Amherst's troops were advancing into the colony, so that a vigorous blow "struck by the army at this juncture might determine the fate of Canada." Whichever body of troops should find itself first on shore, it was ordered to march directly up to the enemy, and cap-

ture any station that they might be found occupying. The successive battalions, on landing, were to form instantly on the heights, and be ready to charge whatever should present itself. The general orders closed in the following terms:—

"A corps will be left to secure the landing-place, while the rest march on to endeavour to bring the French and Canadians to battle. The officers and men will recollect what their country expects from them, and what a determined body of soldiers, inured to war, is capable of doing, against five weak French battalions of regulars, mingled with a disorderly peasantry. The soldiers must be attentive and obedient to their officers, and resolute in the execution of their duty."

293. In the course of the 11th and 12th, all the troops which were on the south shore at St Nicholas re-embarked on board the ships and barges—the latter occupied by the division which was intended to land first; and the whole squadron moved farther up the river with the tide. The weather had now become very favourable, the nights dark, or illumined only by starlight. It formed a part of the plan of operation that while the troops were dropping down the river in the night of the 12th towards the place where the landing was to be effected, all the boats of the fleet left below the town were to be filled with marines and sailors, and moved towards Beauport, supported by frigates and sloops of war, which were to cannonade the French intrenchments, as if to cover a disembarkation in that quarter next morning. The bombardment from Point Levi was to be continued as usual.

By the foregoing arrangements the British general and and admirals continued to divert the attention of the French leaders from the quarter where the real attack was to be made.

294. On the morning of Thursday, September 13th, some time before daylight, the British squadron of war vessels and barges descended with the current towards Sillery, near to which, at a place since called *Wolfe's Cove*, the troops were to land. The first division had entered the barges at nine P.M. on the previous evening, to the number of sixteen hundred men, each soldier taking his place in silence, now informed for the first time of the particulars of the enterprise in hand. All were in high spirits, looking forward to the crowning event of the campaign. The flotilla was observed as it passed in front of the sentries posted along the heights; and some soldiers and sailors were killed and wounded by their fire, directed at random against the moving masses.

At the place of landing, the light infantry, under Colonel Howe, leaped ashore. The foremost of them, following closely the instructions they had received, hastened up the footpath, in single file, to the summit, where they formed, and instantly overpowered a small guard stationed there on purpose to prevent what had now happened.*

The landing of the first division, accompanied by Generals Murray and Monckton, as well as Wolfe in person was effected without confusion. The empty barges, thirty in number, passed off to the ships for fresh loads of sol-

* It has been stated in a former note that the guard at this place was commanded by *M. Verger*, of Louisbourg and Beausejour notoriety. He had imagined his post perfectly safe, and had not only allowed a number of the men under his command to leave the evening before, in order to visit their places of abode near Lorette, but had also betaken himself to rest, and was actually made prisoner while in bed. Some of the French writers have denounced this man as a coward and a traitor. At that time, however, the access from the river was there very steep and narrow, as well as rugged. It is probable that his superior officers (excepting, perhaps, Vaudreuil), as well as Verger himself, judged that an attempt there was highly improbable.

diers. As fast as the summit was reached the troops were formed.* Two hours after sunrise, four thousand eight hundred men, the *élite* of General Wolfe's army, together with himself and the three brigadier-generals, were established in a position on the north bank of the St Lawrence, whence they could not be dislodged by the whole French force without first fighting a pitched battle and gaining a victory.†

At a short distance, towards Sillery, a battery of four guns had been constructed, the same which had played upon the English troops when engaged in wading through the River Etchemin on the 6th. This was taken possession of by Wolfe's order, and a small detachment stationed there. A part of the 60th regiment of Royal Americans having been left to secure the landing-place, and one brass six-pounder field-piece having been with difficulty brought up the steep path by which the troops had ascended, the whole army marched by files towards the city.‡ Coming upon the *Plains of Abraham*, which Wolfe, after such rapid survey as he could make with his eye while the troops were forming on the river bank, had already chosen as his battle-ground, they halted, and disposed themselves in readiness for the conflict. There was no spot within the circuit of the whole season's operations so well suited to the wishes of the young

* Some of the boats happened to be carried down by the current below the appointed place of disembarkation. The soldiers in these also leaped ashore, and scrambled up the precipitous bank, aided by the bushes and projecting points of rock. By the time these arrived at the top the others had seized the guard, and formed without the discharge of another shot.

† The 48th regiment from Point Levi, and 2nd battalion of Royal Americans from the Island of Orleans had been brought to take part in the expected battle. These arrived on the ground at about eight o'clock.

‡ Knox (vol. ii. p. 68) says, "we then faced to the right, and marched by files towards the town, till we came to the Plains of Abraham."

English general; and we may well imagine that it was with some feeling of exultation that he proceeded to avail himself of his long-sought opportunity. By eight o'clock A.M. Wolfe's soldiers had all landed and fallen into the ranks in their assigned positions.

295. In the meantime, during the night of the 12th, General Montcalm believed that all was safe in the quarter where, as the event showed, danger was most imminent. Out of deference to the Governor's wishes, he had already directed that the high ground near Sillery should be occupied by a considerable body of regulars. But it turned out that his directions were either misapprehended or disobeyed. Signals also had been agreed upon, by means of which any unusual appearance of danger at points above the city was to be indicated.

The night of the 12th was passed by the army in the trenches, ready to receive an assault. Montcalm himself was out late, in company with several of his officers—all equally at fault respecting the real character of the demonstrations made by the enemy in front of the lines at Beauport. Before and after midnight the proceedings of the English were such as might be fairly regarded as the prelude to the landing of an attacking force next morning.*

On that same night also, a fresh supply of provisions from Cape Rouge was expected to be brought down the river in barges, under the cover of darkness. Connected, as might

* "While Wolfe was maturing one of the hardiest enterprises in military history, his able and vigilant adversary was, by the skilful dispositions of the fleet, kept anxious and uneasy at Beauport. The splash of oars was heard in various directions, but particularly about the mouth of the Montmorency and above it; the lighter vessels shifted their stations so as to approach the shore, and an incessant cannonade ploughed up the beach, apparently with the view of clearing a space for the debarkation of troops. This went on the whole night, the general every moment expecting some desperate effort to storm his lines."—*Gleig's "Lives of Eminent Commanders."*

well be supposed, with this movement, occasional shots fired from the posts stationed above the city, along the north bank of the river, would not necessarily attract much attention elsewhere, if heard in the intervals of the din and salvos of artillery below. In short, the French general did not suspect the real mischief which was in course of preparation. On the contrary, he was surprised, and at first incredulous, when, soon after daylight, it was intimated that the enemy had actually landed near Sillery, and were establishing themselves in force on the heights above the city.

When he was made to realise the true state of the case, he proceeded to execute the measures which presented themselves to his mind, with the same courage and promptitude as he had displayed on former occasions of emergency.

It has been stated by French writers, as an untoward circumstance, that M. de Levis was not there to counsel or to dissuade, and that, in consequence, Montcalm's intention to fight a pitched battle in defence of the city was not modified or deferred until all the resources at his command were concentrated. It has been further objected that the decision to fight now was not only inconsistent with the defensive plan of the campaign, but was also that which his opponent desired. The French general, therefore, experienced and talented as he was, has been pronounced by many to have been guilty of indiscretion in hastening from his lines at Beauport to meet the English army on the Plains of Abraham.* At the same time, others, taking

* Reports of Vaudreuil, Bigot, De Montreuil, &c. We read in the work cited above, "He was now about to commit a grievous and fatal error, forgetful of the defensive policy which had hitherto guided him, ... and

into account the uncertainties attendant upon all military operations, have concurred in the sufficiency of the three principal reasons which induced Montcalm to marshal his forces for battle at once.*

In pursuance of his resolution, Montcalm quickly sent orders to Bougainville to bring on his corps, and leaving about two hundred men to guard the ravine at Beauport, set out on horseback from the intrenchments. The regulars and Canadians passed the St Charles by the bridge of boats, and through Palace Street into the city. Thence they marched out towards the plains by the St John's and St Louis' gates. Within two hours from the time of being apprised of Wolfe's presence, Montcalm had arrived on the scene, and commenced making his dispositions for the conflict. A hasty consultation with his officers was held as to the best mode of conducting the attack. When all was

thus playing the game which his adversary wished him to play, and had long and ardently striven to bring about."

* Colonel Beatson, in the pamphlet entitled, "The Plains of Abraham," defends Montcalm's procedure, as being the result of no sudden impulse, but of a noble resolve, deliberately formed after mature consideration, and recorded some time previously. The principal reasons were—1. Montcalm considered that it would be easier to fight and beat the English before they should have time to establish or intrench themselves on the heights; 2. He supposed that no considerable force of the English had yet landed, so that in attacking them at once, with superior numbers, he should be more likely to beat them, especially as Bougainville, with his corps, might be in time to fall upon their rear, while he (Montcalm) assailed them in front; 3. That by leaving the English in undisturbed possession of the advantageous position they had gained, his own honour and prestige as a military commander, and also the confidence of his officers and men, would be seriously affected. Other minor considerations concurred in determining him to attack at once.

We find less noble reasons assigned by some, followed by Garneau and other more recent writers, who would have us believe that the fate of the colony hung on the issue of this one battle, and who have not scrupled to attribute its loss to Montcalm's impatient temper, jealousy of Vaudreuil, &c.

ready, the skirmishers were directed to operate for a time in advance of the main body, as if to conceal its movements from the enemy. The commanders were dispatched to their several posts, and the drummers ordered to beat the charge.

CHAPTER XXX.

THE BATTLE OF THE PLAINS OF ABRAHAM—DEATH OF GENERAL WOLFE—DEATH OF MONTCALM—PROCEEDINGS OF THE BRITISH AFTER THE BATTLE—PROCEEDINGS OF GOVERNOR VAUDREUIL AND BIGOT—DE RAMEZAY SURRENDERS THE CITY—STRENGTH OF THE BRITISH UNDER MURRAY—HONOURS TO WOLFE AND MONTCALM—NOTE TO THE CHAPTER.

296. ACCORDING to the most reliable authorities, Montcalm's force present in the action of September 13th, 1759, consisted of about seven thousand men, with the addition of a few hundred marksmen and Indians scattered among the bushes.* There were two or three six-pounder field-pieces. Many of the Canadian militia, although armed with

* Bigot's report assigns three thousand five hundred regulars, but does not give the number of Canadians; the corps of Bougainville is put at three thousand.

Knox and others make the numbers of the French from seven thousand to seven thousand five hundred, and those of the English four thousand eight hundred. Warburton furnishes the following table—*left wing*, regulars, thirteen hundred; militia, two thousand three hundred; *centre*, regulars, seven hundred and twenty; militia, twelve hundred; *right wing*, regulars, sixteen hundred; militia, four hundred—*total*, three thousand six hundred and twenty regulars, three thousand nine hundred militia. The same authority says that Wolfe's *field-state*, on the morning of the 13th, showed four thousand eight hundred and twenty-eight men and officers of all ranks.

muskets and knives, had no bayonets. Additional artillery was ordered from the city, but was not brought out.

Wolfe's army, consisting entirely of trained soldiers, amounted, as has been already stated, to about four thousand eight hundred men, furnished with a single brass six-pounder field-piece. The men were fully armed and equipped for battle, eager to fight against any odds, and further animated by the remembrance of their repulse at Montmorency. In case of defeat, every man was sensible that his situation would become extremely critical.

As the French deployed outside the city gates, they occupied at first a rising ground in three divisions, having an irregular surface towards the river bank on their left, and extending across the St Louis and St Foy roads towards the precipitous declivities in the direction of the St Charles on their right. Beyond the right of the main body, Indians and Canadian marksmen were posted amongst the trees and bushes, plentiful in that quarter. Montcalm himself commanded in the centre, at the head of the regiment of Languedoc.

General Wolfe also stationed himself towards the right of the centre of his host, having opposed to him in front the regiments of Guienne and Bearn, commanded by Montcalm's second in command, *M. Senezergues*. On the right of the British, General Monckton's brigade was posted, General Murray's in the centre, and General Townshend's, supported by light infantry and a battalion of the 60th or Royal Americans, on the left. As the English forces were advancing towards the town, and taking up their positions in the order which has been described, skirmishing occurred in the front and on the left towards the St Foy road, the light troops and field-pieces on both sides covering the movements of the main bodies. The Indians and Canadian

marksmen fired from among the bushes. The effects of these desultory operations were decidedly in favour of the French.

It soon became evident that some new dispositions were necessary on the British left, in order to prevent an attack on the flank and rear in that quarter, which, from the nature of the ground, and the greater extension of Montcalm's line, might have occasioned serious consequences. To counteract this, General Townshend disposed his division in an oblique direction, wheeling back three battalions so as to confront the danger.

In the meantime, the French skirmishers in front being greatly reinforced, the English light troops were easily driven back upon their supports, while Montcalm, under cover of the desultory fire going on everywhere across the plains, withdrew portions of his battalions from the right and centre towards his left, in order to favour his intended grand assault upon the British right. Some confusion and temporary disorder in the front line of the English were occasioned by the sudden falling back of the light infantry. General Wolfe passed along the line, exhorting his men to stand firm, and forbidding them to fire a shot until their adversaries came within forty paces' distance. They were also told to load with an extra ball. The presence and exhortations of their young general produced a great effect upon the soldiers, who cheered him and stood to their ground "with muskets shouldered as if on parade; unmindful of the galling discharges of fire-arms to which they were exposed, and by which many were killed or disabled." Presently the French columns were seen pressing onwards, their main body, both regulars and Canadians, advancing with great spirit, firing and reloading rapidly, until they came within the prescribed distance. The English regiments, on receiving the word of

command, then poured in a discharge so effective that the progress of their adversaries was instantly arrested. Great numbers of the French were shot down, and Montcalm's whole left wing, recoiling from the deadly torrent, broke and fled towards the city and behind the centre. The latter also fell back, but more leisurely, as if to cover a general retreat of the troops on either hand. The French right was, at the same time, driven in disorder towards the St Charles and the St John's Gate, where the confusion was further increased by the arrival of many fugitives from the left. Montcalm, wounded yet regardless of pain, exerted himself in endeavouring to rally his soldiers. But the whole English line was moving forward. Redoubling their fire, and quickening their approach to a charge with bayonet and broadsword, their continued advance could not now be checked. No second formation was effected by the French, and after a brief stand made by a portion of the centre and a body of Canadians near St John's Gate, their whole army made precipitately for the St Charles River or fled into the city.

The English had taken possession of one of the French field-pieces, with which, and that which they had at the commencement of the action, they discharged grapeshot upon the retreating enemy.

The 78th Highlanders and the 58th continued the pursuit until they came within range of the cannon mounted on the two hulks near the bridge of boats.

From the moment when the general advance was commenced by the French, the battle had not lasted fifteen minutes.

Considering the brief duration of the conflict, and the small amount of artillery on the ground, the loss on both sides was heavy. Montcalm himself, and his two immediate subordinates in command, M. Senezergues and M. St Ours,

were mortally wounded. The total loss on the French side, including killed, wounded, and prisoners, amounted to nearly fifteen hundred men, belonging chiefly to the battalions of regulars. A great number of French officers were taken on the field.*

On the English side, the victory was purchased with the loss of sixty-one officers and men killed, and upwards of six hundred wounded.

Early in the action General Wolfe was struck in the wrist by a musket-ball. Shortly afterwards, while exerting himself at the head of the 28th regiment and the grenadier companies, whom he was encouraging by his voice and example, marching on foot with them in their forward movement, sword in hand, he was again hit in the body. Concealing his injuries, and still pressing forward, he received a third and mortal wound in his breast. He was instantly borne off to some distance in the rear and gently placed upon the ground, at the spot whereon the monument erected to his memory now stands, and where he expired before the conflict was ended. He had, however, the satisfaction of knowing that his gallant exploit of that morning had been crowned with victory, for, during an interval of consciousness preceding his death, he heard those about him exclaim that the enemy were everywhere flying in disorder. His last effort in the service of his

* Knox, in his "Historical Journal," relates, from his own personal knowledge, that the officers who fell into the hands of the British asked for quarter, taking off their hats, and repeatedly declaring that they were not present at Fort George (*William Henry*) in 1757. One prisoner proved to be a soldier who had deserted from the 60th Regiment. He was found wounded on the field. For having fought against his countrymen he was tried by a court-martial immediately, and shot pursuant to sentence.

During the action, an incessant fire of artillery was maintained between the town and the English batteries on the south shore of the St Lawrence.

country was to direct an order to Colonel Burton to march a regiment quickly down to the River St Charles, so as to cut off the retreat of the fugitives by the bridge of boats; and his last words were, "Now, God be praised, I will die in peace."

Brigadier-general Monckton was also disabled by a wound received early in the action, so that the chief command devolved upon General Townshend. He, with General Murray, when the French had all made good their retreat, some within the city walls, and the others down the steep descent leading towards the bridge and the horn-work on the opposite bank of the St Charles, called off the pursuers. Causing the whole line to be re-formed in order, Generals Townshend and Murray went to the head of every regiment to thank the soldiers for their good behaviour, and to congratulate them and the officers on their victory. The death of Wolfe was not communicated to the army until the battle was ended.

It is not certainly known what became of Montcalm immediately after he had received his mortal wound. Some say he was carried into the city to a house in St Louis Street, others that he was borne to the Governor's official residence, Fort St Louis. According to another account he was taken to the general hospital, whither also a great many wounded officers and men were carried.* He died early on the following morning, having previously expressed his satisfaction that he should not survive to witness the sur-

* In Knox's Journal, vol. ii. p. 76, the following statement occurs:—"Last night General Townshend went with a detachment of two hundred men to the French general hospital, situated on the River Charles, and about a mile from the town. . . . . He found an officer's guard there, but immediately took possession, and posted a captain's command at the convent. The unfortunate *Marquis de Montcalm was then in the house dying of his wound.*"

render of Quebec. While he was lying on his death-bed he was consulted relative to the course which it might be expedient to follow in the deplorable state to which the affairs of the colony were now reduced. He is said to have replied that there were three lines of conduct to select from: to reunite the beaten troops with Bougainville's corps, and then fight another battle with the English; to retire towards Point-aux-Trembles, and await the arrival of De Levis before resuming offensive operations; or, lastly, to surrender Quebec and the colony, by capitulation, on the best terms that could be obtained.*

The dying general expressed his confidence in the ability of M. de Levis, who would now succeed to the command of the forces. After the last rites had been administered by his chaplain, the gallant Montcalm expired, "fortified by the sacraments, which he had received with much piety and religion;" and his remains were deposited in the church of the Ursuline convent.†

* Another account furnishes a different reply. According to this Montcalm answered his interrogators with some bitterness—"I will give no orders nor interfere further, having weightier business to attend to than your ruined garrison and this wretched country. My time is very short, so pray leave me. I wish you all comfort, and to be happily extricated from your present perplexities."

Before Montcalm breathed his last, he is reported to have expressed his dissatisfaction with the quality of the army he had commanded, in the following terms:—"If I could survive this wound I would engage to beat three times the number of such forces as I commanded this morning with a third of such troops as those which were opposed to me."

† In an epitaph prepared in Latin by the French "Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres," it is recorded that Montcalm's remains were interred "in a grave which a fallen bomb, in bursting, had excavated for him." But, according to the register of marriages, baptisms, and deaths of the Quebec Cathedral (French), for 1759, he was buried *inside the chapel of the Ursulines*, in the presence of three of the Cathedral canons, M. de Ramezay, and the officers of the garrison, on September 14th. One of the last efforts of the dying general was to dictate, if not to write, a letter to the English

The death of Montcalm took place on the morning of the 14th September. A day or two afterwards his second in commander, invoking his protection and kindness in behalf of the French who had fallen into his hands, especially the wounded.

Three weeks before his death he wrote a remarkable letter to a relative in France, in which he summarily described the past events of the campaign, while, with a species of prescience, he foretold his own probable procedure, and the results in case his opponent should succeed in landing above Quebec. (See additional note, p. 425.)

He died on the morning of September 14th, at five o'clock, but such a state of confusion and disorder prevailed in the ruined city, that neither carpenter nor materials could be procured for making a decent coffin to hold his remains. At last a person connected with the Ursuline convent hastily collected a few old boards, with which a rude box was constructed, capacious enough to contain the corpse. In the account from which this incident is taken, it is stated that "it (the coffin) presented, during the funeral ceremonies, a singular contrast to its precious contents."

It happened that the memory of the spot where Montcalm was interred was preserved by an eye-witness of the ceremony, who lived up to the year 1835, and then died at the age of eighty-four. This spectator of the mournful proceedings was a young girl, then between eight and nine years old, who by chance fell in with the funeral *cortége*, and followed it to the grave, in company with another young girl, and who afterwards became a member of the sisterhood. In 1833, when a grave was being made inside the Ursuline church, for the reception of the body of M. Charles Jalbert, *contre-maitre* of the monastery, it was suddenly discovered that the spot chosen for the purpose was the very one in which the general had been buried seventy-four years before. The digging, however, was proceeded with, under the personal supervision of *M. l'Abbé Maguire*, one of the authorities of the institution, when some few remnants of the coffin were found, and likewise a few fragments of bones, so far decayed, that they fell into powder when touched. The skull of Montcalm, however, was found in a state of remarkable preservation, the upper jaw being broken to pieces in the act of procuring it. The injury was neatly repaired by means of wax, and the object itself carefully preserved under a glass cover, bearing on the outside a suitable inscription. Now, in 1869, more than a quarter of a century later, the skull of Montcalm is still visible at the Ursuline convent, being in the custody of the Rev. M. le Moyne, whom the author has to thank for an opportunity of viewing it, as well as for his valuable and courteous explanations relating to that and other objects of interest to the student of Canadian history.

It is remarkable that the skull of Montcalm has upon it distinct traces

command, M. de Senezergues, died of his wounds on board one of the English ships in the harbour. The next officer, M. de St Ours, had expired on the field of battle.

297. Immediately after the action of the 13th the English army was employed in constructing redoubts, and in making other arrangements, both for fortifying their position on the Plains, and for prosecuting the siege of the town. Bougainville, with his corps, had made his appearance towards the rear of the British left, at the moment when the beaten troops of Montcalm were retiring from the field. General Townshend placed a portion of his force in readiness to receive him, upon which he withdrew in the direction of Point-aux-Trembles.

The services of the sailors of the fleet, and of the marines, were employed in landing artillery, ammunition, and provisions, and in constructing batteries to operate against the defences of the city. More than two thousand men were set to work making fascines and gabions. The whole of the men belonging to the army and ships, who could be spared to take part in the labour, were made use of to accelerate the preparations. Within three days after the battle an intrenched camp was established on the Plains, with redoubts and batteries in the foreground, furnished with sixty pieces of heavy artillery and fifty-eight mortars. While these preparations were being made, the guns of the

of wounds received by the gallant soldier many years before his death, in Italy and Bohemia, where he had been present in some hard-fought battles before he came to Canada.

In beholding this wonderfully preserved memento of the military prowess of Old France, which escaped destruction in many a battle on the continent of Europe, as well as the dangers of Chouagen, Carillon, &c., in America, and which has been again restored to view, after surviving a repose of three quarters of a century in the grave, well may the thoughtful observer exclaim, "*Sic transit gloria mundi!*"

city were directed against the camp of the besiegers, by which a number of their officers and men were wounded.

298. We have seen that the English did not risk the loss of the fruits of their victory by making any attempt to follow the French across the St Charles. During a few hours after the battle, the defeated host re-occupied the hornwork and the intrenchments beyond. But in consequence of the disastrous issue of the conflict, consternation prevailed, and the greatest disorder, which the Governor, aided by the principal surviving officers, did his best to lessen. While their brave general lay dying in another place, the discouragement of the French troops was augmented by the knowledge that all those who might have taken his place were absent, or among the killed and wounded.

Governor Vaudreuil, Bigot, and several others, took counsel together as to the measures which ought to be adopted. They met in a house within the hornwork. It is said that several of those present were in favour of surrendering by a capitulation to include the whole colony. Some were for uniting with the garrison and the division of Bougainville, in order to fight a second battle; others for throwing reinforcements into the city, and then retiring to Cape Rouge and Pointe-aux-Trembles, there to await the arrival of De Levis, already sent for from Montreal. In the end it was determined to retreat during the night of the 13th. It has even been alleged by some that Governor Vaudreuil, in view of the scarcity of provisions in the city, as well as the lack of ammunition and other means of defence, dispatched a letter or a message to the Commandant, De Ramezay, authorising him to surrender the place on the best terms he could obtain, so soon as the English

were ready to make the assault.* This statement, however, has been the subject of dispute, although the truth of it has never been entirely disproved. The French army, therefore, abandoned the intrenched position between the St Charles and the Montmorency, retiring through Lorette upon Pointe-aux-Trembles, where they arrived on the evening of the 14th. On the following day it came to Jacques Cartier and established itself, awaiting the arrival of Mont-

* The truth respecting Vaudreuil's directions to De Ramezay has not been made clearly apparent. The subject has been much canvassed. It is well known that the capitulation was proposed to the English on the 17th, before their batteries were quite ready. Neither Bigot nor Vaudreuil, the principal persons concerned at the council of war held in the hornwork after the battle, and who must have both known the precise instructions sent to De Ramezay, mention in their reports the sending of any order relative to capitulation. On the contrary, they both express themselves as if the fact took them by surprise. Bigot, in his letter, dated October 15th, 1759, says—"M. de Vaudreuil, after the battle was lost, called a council of war to see what course it was proper to take. He thought we might resume the attack at daylight after assembling all our forces. . . . I was also of that opinion ; but all the officers at the council insisted upon a retreat to the Jacques Cartier. M. de Vaudreuil, observing these gentlemen persist in their sentiments, and fearing to compromise the colony, gave orders for the retreat to begin at ten P.M. We abandoned, &c., . . . and ten days' provisions, which I had caused to be brought in waggons. Of all this stock of provisions, I could send into Quebec only fifty horse-loads, for want of means of transport." In another passage of the same letter we find—"The army, nevertheless, started from Jacques Cartier to succour the city. We were at St Augustin, four leagues from Quebec, when we learned that it had capitulated. . . . *I do not discuss the reasons of M. de Ramezay ; they were doubtless well-grounded.*"

In Vaudreuil's brief report of November 1st, 1759, it is stated, "After the affair of the 13th, we marched with the army to the relief of Quebec ; but this place capitulated on the 18th, *in spite of the succours which I had commenced throwing into the city, and the letters which I had written to the Commandant.*" In the absence of positive evidence to the contrary, the statement of Vaudreuil, who, whatever may have been his failings, is allowed to have been an honourable man, certainly appears to be credible.

calm's successor. M. de Levis* made his appearance on the 17th, when the French, now considerably diminished in numbers through desertion, began to retrace their steps towards Quebec. They were too late to strike another blow in its defence, for on the next day, when they were within twelve miles of the city, intelligence of its surrender reached them.

299. On the 17th of September M. de Ramezay, under whose orders a garrison of seventeen hundred and sixty men was placed on the retirement of the army from Beaufort, sent out a flag of truce to the hostile camp, and entered into negotiations preliminary to a capitulation. The inhabi-

* M. de Vaudreuil, in the dispatch of November 1st, 1759, already cited, says of De Levis—"He (General Montcalm) could not be more worthily replaced than by the Chevalier de Levis. It is even to be desired that he (De Levis) had commanded the army from the very commencement of the campaign. The brilliant affair of July 31st was precisely the result of De Levis's dispositions; and I am persuaded that, if he had been near Montcalm on September 13th, the course of events would have been very different from what it has been. De Levis, at that time, was at Montreal, looking after the security of our frontiers in the direction of Lake Champlain, where his presence produced the happiest effects at Isle-aux-Noix and other points. I considered nothing more urgent than to recall him after the battle of the 13th." De Levis was incensed when he came to know of the capitulation of Quebec. He adopted very severe measures to check the desertion of the militia which followed on the loss of the battle of the 13th September.

Vaudreuil's estimate of the qualifications of De Levis is corroborated by Montcalm's own declarations respecting this general. He (Montcalm) said, in 1756—"De Levis is a very talented man, with a lofty military spirit and decision of character, indefatigable, courageous, and conversant with military routine." Also, on his death-bed, Montcalm expressed his satisfaction in knowing that he left the command of the French army in such good hands.

De Levis had been in the army already twenty-four years, and had seen arduous service in the campaigns of Bohemia in 1741–42, in Germany in 1743, the Rhenish campaigns of 1743–46, in Italy in 1746–48. He came to serve in Canada in 1756.

tants of the city, knowing that they were abandoned by the army, without provisions and munitions of war, and that the defences were inadequate to meet the bombardment and assault to which they would presently be exposed, insisted upon a surrender. Many of the garrison were militiamen. These had now but little shelter within the walls of the ruined town, and scarcely any food to eat. "They refused," says De Ramezay, in his own justification, "to fight the enemy." They thought of their helpless families in the country, exposed as they had been during many weeks past to all the horrors of war, and decimated by famine and disease. Even their officers, according to the testimony of M. Joannes, the town-major, added, by their conversation and threats of abandoning their posts, to the evil spirit prevailing amongst their men. De Ramezay, therefore, without waiting to receive the assault of the English, capitulated on the morning of the 18th, at the very time when, it is recorded, sixty horsemen belonging to the advanced-guard of De Levis were entering the place.

The army of De Levis immediately retired upon Pointe-aux-Trembles and the Jacques Cartier.

300. The terms of capitulation embraced the following principal provisions:—The land forces, marines, and sailors of the garrison to be accorded the honours of war, and to be conveyed in British ships to the nearest port of France; the property of the inhabitants, as well as that of the officers, both of those present and absent, to be inviolate, and their customary privileges to be preserved; the free exercise of the Roman Catholic religion to be permitted, and safe-guards granted to all religious persons, including the Bishop, until the possession of Canada should be decided between

the Kings of England and France, and guards to be posted at the churches, convents, and principal habitations; the sick and wounded of both sides to be equally cared for, and the physicians and attendants upon them to have every facility and assistance in the discharge of their duties; the artillery and public stores to be faithfully given up, and a proper inventory taken.

The articles were signed by Admiral Saunders, General Townshend, and M. de Ramezay.

301. Thus at length, on the 18th of September 1759, the capital town and fortress of New France fell into the hands of the English, who proceeded at once to establish themselves there. Provisions and stores enough for a whole year were landed from the fleet. The regiments which had served during the campaign were appointed to form the garrison, and all the requisite preparations were made for security during the winter. Numerous working-parties were distributed through the town to clear the streets of rubbish, and to repair the buildings for the reception of the troops which remained encamped outside the city until the end of September.

On the 26th that portion of the French regular army which had composed the garrison, including twenty-six officers, forty-nine non-commissioners, and five hundred and forty rank and file, without reckoning sailors and militia, was embarked for France, conformably to the terms of the treaty. The militiamen joyfully received permission to return to their families, on the condition that they should not engage in any hostile acts. A great many of the French inhabitants of the country around Quebec came in to tender their submission and their oaths not to serve against the King of England. They were kindly received, and their most pressing wants alleviated by the British officers and

soldiers, for many came also to beg charity in their distress.*

The premises of the Royal Intendant were prepared as winter quarters for the 48th regiment. There the captors found quantities of unused fire-arms, hardware, blankets, and dry-goods of all kinds; trinkets, laces, furs, wine, salt, sugar, mocassins, clothing, &c., all of which were applied for the use of the English army.

302. It has been recorded in a former page that the total strength of Wolfe's army at the commencement of the campaign of 1759 was eight thousand six hundred officers and men. The loss by death during the season amounted to fifteen hundred and sixty. Portions of the battalions of Royal Americans, colonial soldiers, and invalids were embarked for home in course of the month of October. On making deductions for these, there would have remained about six thousand men to compose the garrison of Quebec, and to occupy the outposts during the winter of 1759–60. But we must make some addition to the number assigned,

* Some brought vegetables and other produce to exchange at the English camp for meat and biscuit, which were extremely scarce throughout the French settlement. The English soldiers commiserated them, and in many instances shared with them their own rations and supplies of tobacco.

As soon as the fall of Quebec became generally known, as well as the humane conduct of the British soldiers—so different from what they had been led to anticipate—the country people brought back to their habitations the cattle and effects which had been concealed in the forest, and which had escaped the ravages of war. The poor people then proceeded vigorously with the labour of securing the scanty crops of the season. Except in one or two cases, and for which the perpetrators were severely punished, no molestation was suffered by them at the hands of the British from the time of the capitulation. Some of the inhabitants, however, were, from time to time, subjected to injury by flying parties of French troops, who thus retaliated upon them for having given in their submission.

since, in the course of the season, recruits had been forwarded from the depôts or recruiting quarters of the several regiments in England. In all, the land force left in Canada did not fall far short of seven thousand men.

303. The English established outposts in the neighbourhood of Cape Rouge, at Ste Foye, Ancient Lorette, and at some other points favourably situated for guarding against surprise during the winter, and for covering the operations of the detachments employed in collecting fuel for the use of the garrison.

Late in October the British fleet weighed anchor and departed, having on board General Monckton, who went to New York. General Townshend also returned to England, while General Murray was left in command at Quebec.*

304. Meanwhile the main body of the French having retired to Montreal, De Levis left a strong detachment in a fortified position at the mouth of the Jacques Cartier river, with advanced posts at Pointe-aux-Trembles, St Augustin, and Cape Rouge. By means of small parties sent out from time to time, and rumours spread of an intention to recapture Quebec by escalade during the winter, the French general hoped to harass the English, and to keep them in a state of constant alarm.

305. Before closing this chapter it is necessary to revert to those illustrious generals whose lives were sacrificed

* A part of the English fleet was stationed at Halifax during the winter of 1759-60, and kept in readiness there for re-ascending the St Lawrence to Quebec at the first opening of the navigation, up to which time the utmost care was taken to intercept any reinforcements which the government of France might send out to Canada.

Towards the close of navigation in 1759 a French vessel, commanded by M. Cannon, passed down the river from above Quebec, bearing dispatches from Vaudreuil and others for the court of France.

in the service of their respective countries in the battle of September 13th, 1759.

General Montcalm died, as has been stated, on the morning of the 14th, and was interred in the church of the Ursulines. Little or nothing was done by his countrymen in honour of his memory.* It was left for a future age and generation, to the united descendants of those whose fathers had contended for supremacy in America nearly a century before, to celebrate his fame by the erection of permanent memorials.

In honour of General Wolfe the King of England ordered a monument to be raised in Westminster Abbey. His countrymen, through their Parliament and otherwise, had manifested a deep sense of his meritorious services and regret for his loss.

Subsequently, to perpetuate the memory of Wolfe in Canada, a stone pillar was erected in 1832 upon the spot where he had breathed his last, with the inscription—"HERE DIED WOLFE VICTORIOUS, SEPT. XIII. MDCCLIX."†

In memory of both generals, a handsome monument had previously been raised on a commanding site, within the walls of the city.‡

* Some of his children were allowed small pensions by the King. A son was promoted to a post in the French army.

† This monument proved to be not very durable. In 1849 another was constructed with the inscription—"This pillar was erected by the British army in Canada, A.D. 1849, his Excellency Lieutenant-General Sir Benjamin d'Urban being Commander of the Forces, to replace that erected by Governor-General Lord Aylmer in 1832, which was broken and defaced, and is deposited beneath." On another face of the pedestal of the new pillar the inscription which had been placed on the old one was restored.

This monument is to be seen to the left of the St Louis Road, near the gaol, about a mile outside of St John's Gate.

‡ This is the column to be seen in the "Governor's garden," at Quebec. Lord Dalhousie, then Governor-General, announced the project at a meeting of the citizens held in the Castle of St Louis, and the first stone was laid

NOTE.—As the reputation of Montcalm has suffered through disparaging remarks and hasty presumptions (by Garneau and others, the eulogists of Garneau, and animated by his well-known peculiar prejudices, far from being concealed under the plausible disguise of affected liberality towards those differing from them in creed and origin), we present here, in his own words, a refutation of the suggestions about his having been influenced by feelings of jealousy towards Vaudreuil—or, in fact, by any other than those of devotion to his country. His sagacity and foresight are also clearly shown. About three weeks before his death Montcalm wrote to a relative in France as follows :—" Here I am, my dear cousin, at the end of three months still contending with M. Wolfe, who has incessantly bombarded Quebec, with a fury almost unexampled in the attack of any place which the besieger has wished to retain after its capture. Nearly all the lower town is destroyed by his batteries, and a great part of the upper town is also in ruins. But even if he leave not one stone above another, he will never take the capital whilst his operations are confined to the opposite side of the river. He has hitherto made no progress towards the accomplishment of his object. He is ruining us without advantage to himself. The campaign can scarcely last another month, in consequence of the autumnal gales, which are here so disastrous to shipping, and so severe. It might seem that after so favourable a prelude, the safety of the colony can scarcely be doubtful. Such, however, is not the case, as the capture of Quebec depends on a *coup-de-main*. The English, having entire command of the river, have only to effect a landing on this side, where the city, without defences, is situated. Imagine them in a position to offer me battle ! *which I could no longer decline, and which I ought not to gain.*

" Indeed, if M. Wolfe understand his business, he has only to receive my first fire, give a volley in return, and then charge ; when my Canadians, undisciplined, deaf to the sound of the drum, and thrown into confusion by his onset, would be incapable of resuming their ranks. Moreover, *as they have not bayonets with which to oppose those of the enemy*, nothing would remain for them but flight; and then—behold me beaten without resource. Conceive my situation ! a most painful one, and which causes me many distressing moments. Hitherto I have been able to act successfully on the defensive; but will a continuance in that course prove ultimately successful ? Events must decide that question. Of this, however, you may rest assured, that I shall probably not survive the loss of the colony. These

---

in November 1827. The ceremony was attended by one (Mr Thomson), who had served under Wolfe sixty-eight years before. This gentleman lived till 1830, when he died, aged ninety-eight years, having been twenty-seven years old when the battle was fought.

are circumstances which leave a general no choice, but that of dying with honour: such may soon be my fate; and I trust that in this respect posterity will have no cause to reproach my memory."

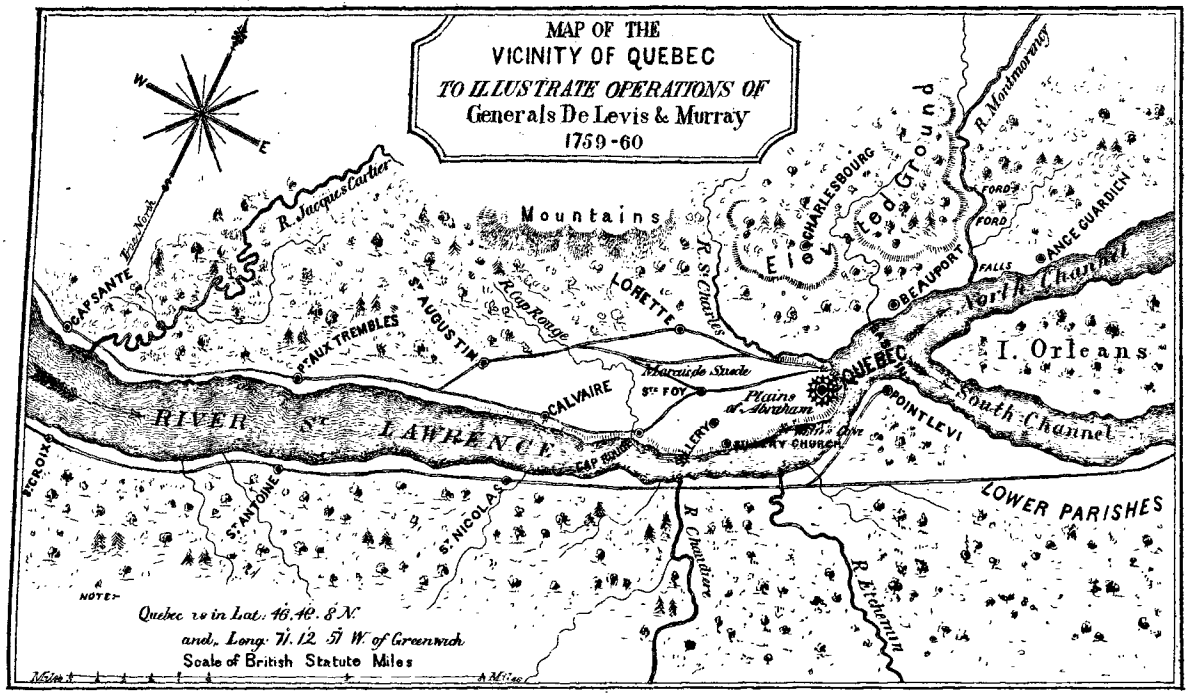
Then follow some remarkable predictions relative to the future of the then English colonies and Canada:—"So all these English colonists would long ago have shaken off the yoke, and each become an independent republic if the fear of seeing the French at their doors had not hindered; but when Canada comes to be conquered, and when the Canadians and these colonists form one people, do you imagine that they will remain any longer in subjection from the moment England appears to touch their interest! . . . . I am sure of what I write, and would allow no more than ten years for its accomplishment after Canada falls. See then, how, as a Frenchman, I console myself to-day, for the danger my own country now incurs, in seeing this colony lost to her."

CHAPTER XXXI.

PROJECTS OF DE LEVIS—WINTER OF 1759-60—SUFFERINGS OF THE GARRISON AT QUEBEC FROM DEARTH OF FUEL AND COLD—GENERAL MURRAY'S POLICY TOWARDS THE INHABITANTS—PRECAUTIONS AGAINST SURPRISE—HOSTILITIES DURING THE WINTER—SICKNESS AND MORTALITY IN THE GARRISON—DE LEVIS ADVANCES AGAINST THE ENGLISH—THE INHABITANTS OF THE CITY ORDERED TO DEPART—MURRAY RECALLS HIS OUTPOSTS, AND MARCHES TO STE FOYE—BATTLE OF STE FOYE, AND DEFEAT OF MURRAY—SIEGE OF QUEBEC—ARRIVAL OF THE ENGLISH FLEET—RETREAT OF DE LEVIS—PLANS OF THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF.

306. ALTHOUGH it was thought in Europe and the Anglo-American colonies that the events of 1759 had substantially disabled the defenders of Canada, and that there would be no more fighting and bloodshed, yet the Chevalier De Levis resolved to prolong the contest. Governor De Vaudreuil, while he may not have participated in all the views and sanguine anticipations of the

A.D. 1759-60.


MAP OF THE
VICINITY OF QUEBEC
TO ILLUSTRATE OPERATIONS OF
Generals De Levis & Murray
1759-60
W
E
Mountains
Elevated Ground
R. Jacques Cartier
R. Montmorency
CHARLESBOURG
FORD
FORD
FALLS
ANCE GUARDIEN
BEAUPORT
North Channel
I. Orleans
South Channel
CAP SANTE
Trois Norch
Pt AUX TREMBLES
St AUGUSTIN
R. Cap Rouge
LORETTE
R. St Charles
Marais de Suede
Ste FOY
Plains of Abraham
QUEBEC
POINTLEVI
CALVAIRE
RIVER St LAWRENCE
CAP ROUGE
BILLERY
BILLERY CHURCH
LOWER PARISHES
St CROIX
St ANTOINE
St NICOLAS
R. Chaudiere
R. Etchemin
NOTE
Quebec is in Lat. 46.48. 8 N.
and, Long. 71.12. 51 W. of Greenwich
Scale of British Statute Miles

Chevalier, had much confidence in his military abilities, and supported his representations that the cause of France in America was not desperate. De Levis argued that Quebec might be retaken before the English could receive reinforcements; that, in the absence of the English fleet, the naval force at his disposal was adequate to secure the control of the St Lawrence;* that he had land forces sufficient† to garrison the capital, and to repel the enemy elsewhere on the frontiers, or at least to keep them at bay until a peace declared by the European powers should intervene to save the remnant of New France; and that, finally, a fleet from France, bearing succours, might arrive at Quebec earlier than the English in the spring of 1760.‡ On retiring with the defeated army, after the capitulation, De Levis left garrisons at various points, with a view to the subsequent concentration of the whole in an expedition against the capital. The stations nearest to Quebec were Pointe-aux-Trembles and the mouth of the river Jacques Cartier, with outposts in the direction of St Augustin and Cap-Rouge. The commandants at these places were instructed to cause the proceedings of the English to be

* The French had in the river about a dozen small armed craft, and four frigates of from twenty-six to forty-six guns. The English naval force, left behind by the fleet, consisted of two sloops, *Racehorse* and *Porcupine*, and three small schooners—weakened afterwards, on November 24, by an accident in which Captain Miller of the *Racehorse*, with his lieutenant and a number of his crew, were killed.

† The land forces of De Levis, including regulars, colony troops, and such of the Canadian militia as could be assembled in arms at short notice, amounted to between 11,000 and 12,000; but this number would have been largely augmented by the inhabitants on perceiving, by the results of the first operations of De Levis, any fair prospect of ultimate success.

‡ De Levis placed some dependence on supplies of artillery, ammunition, &c., brought out by a French ship in the fall, and which had taken refuge in Gaspé Bay for the winter. This was known to De Vaudreuil and De Levis.

observed, and to lose no opportunity of harassing them during the ensuing winter. Garrisons were also maintained at Three Rivers, Sorel, Chambly, and St John's; and there was one at Isle-aux-Noix, which formed the most remote post on the Champlain frontier, and where a new stone fort, within the old intrenchments, had been built, capable of accommodating more than 500 men. In the direction of Lake Ontario there were two French outposts—one on Isle Royale, called Fort Levis, and the other at La Galette, on the right bank of the St Lawrence, not far from the site of the modern town Ogdensburg. At La Galette, the French had established a small naval station, after the loss of Fort Frontenac, but the armament consisted of only two or three small ships employed in navigating Lake Ontario and the upper part of the St Lawrence. The French headquarters were established at Montreal, which was then surrounded by a low stone wall, the troops being lodged in barracks and citizens' dwellings, and on St Helen's Island, where there were fortified intrenchments.*

These few posts were all that De Levis judged to be necessary for preserving communications within the now limited area over which the territorial jurisdiction of the French extended.

On the other hand, the British at Quebec were considered to be completely isolated, as the nearest posts of their countrymen were so distant, and the intervening obstacles of such an impracticable character in winter, that

* The troops quartered in the garrisons which have been mentioned in the text consisted chiefly of regulars. Others were quartered for the winter in the houses of inhabitants in the country parishes nearest to the garrisons, and these, as well as the men belonging to the militia who were allowed to retire to their homes, were required to be ready to assemble in arms at short notice. Each inhabitant was expected to find subsistence for one soldier, for which service payment was promised at a low rate.

communication with them seemed to be impossible during the next six months.*

The more interesting incidents which occurred in the interval between October 1759 and April 1760 are briefly recorded in the following article.

307. The departure of General Monckton† left General Murray in sole command of the British troops, which, by this time, were quartered within the walls of the town. At first, when the place was surrendered, as it was in a very dilapidated condition from the effects of the siege, the chief officers of the fleet and army were disposed to doubt the expediency of retaining it, and of occupying it with troops during the ensuing winter. This question being decided at a council of war, and General Murray being appointed to remain as Governor, with all the regiments that had served in the campaign, measures were taken to meet a difficulty which, it was foreseen, would be a source of much hardship and suffering to the troops. There was an insufficiency of fuel on hand. Considering the wants

* General Murray did endeavour twice to transmit intelligence to General Amherst in New York; for on 26th December, Lieutenant Butler and four rangers crossed over to Point Levi with dispatches for the commander-in-chief, and tried to make their way thence to New England; but returned after ten days, having met with tracks of Indians in the snow, which discouraged them from proceeding on their errand. A month later, Lieutenant Montresor, with a larger party of Rangers, was dispatched. This second attempt succeeded; for Mr Montresor, following the courses of the rivers Chaudiere and Amerascaegen, reached Boston in thirty-one days. The intelligence brought by him was sent on to New York, whence General Amherst, deeming it highly important, sent it by express to Governor Lawrence at Boston, with directions to have it forwarded as soon as possible to Lord Colville, who then commanded the ships on the North American station.

† General Monckton sailed on 24th October, when the last part of the fleet left the harbour. He was accompanied by Colonel Guy Carleton, who was suffering from the effects of wounds received in the campaign. Admiral Saunders and General Townshend had sailed on 18th October.

of so numerous a garrison alone, the supply found in the public stores, apart from the materials of the ruined houses and fences, was scarcely enough for two weeks' consumption. Accordingly, General Murray felt the necessity of devoting his attention assiduously to this matter. He determined to defer as long as possible the issuing of fuel from the public stores,* and, in the meantime, to increase these by detaching parties of soldiers to the forest as wood-cutters, and by employing the services of the inhabitants and their horses. Detachments for this purpose were sent down to Isle Madame and the Island of Orleans, whence cordwood might be transported by water. Other parties were employed in the forest lying west of the town, in the direction of Sillery and Ste Foye, which proved to be the principal, and, for a great part of the winter, the only reliable source of supply.

None of the various cares which devolved on General Murray, as the chief of the garrison, perplexed and troubled him so much as those which grew out of the necessity for constantly employing the soldiers in the capacity of "hewers of wood," and in dragging it into their cantonments. Several causes concurred in prolonging the continuance of these labours, and rendering them extremely severe and harassing. It was found impracticable to transport any considerable quantity of wood from below Quebec, Isle Madame being too distant, and the transit to and from the Island of Orleans becoming difficult and dangerous as

* A large quantity of fine cordwood had been burned before the fall of the city. Before the fleet sailed, the sailors had been employed to assist in replenishing the woodyards, but the quantity delivered by them was greatly over-estimated, which occasioned much disappointment and inconvenience. None was issued to the troops until 1st December, and then only what was called a fortnight's supply. The ruins were had recourse to as long as they afforded material for fuel.

the season advanced. When the weather became cold, the basin between the city and the island was blocked up, being made impassable by masses of ice floating backwards and forwards with the tides. The detachments there had been recalled, after having cut down a large quantity of timber, and disposed the material at different points convenient for its subsequent removal. But the soldiers could not recross the river, and were detained there nearly a month longer, anxiously watching for an opportunity. In consequence, the fuel required for immediate use was procured from the forest west of the city. But, whether from being unused to the climate and that kind of work, or owing to the frequent interruptions occasioned by inclement weather, rendering outside labours impossible, the quantity brought in scarcely sufficed for the daily consumption.* As the winter advanced, it was found necessary to largely increase the number of men thus employed—to the extent, at times, of several thousand—until, in December, the procuring of fuel became the all-engrossing object of attention. Knox records in his Journal, "Very much attention now engrossed by the subject of firewood. Not only detachments from the regiments employed as heretofore, but all men not on duty, even those who have been on guard the preceding night." Again, in his entry for December 16, he says, "Interrupted by inconceivable cold. Whenever a milder day comes, two subalterns, four sergeants, and two hundred men do all the fatigue duty within, all the rest of the garrison off duty sleighing wood." Thus, during about four

* Each party could make only one trip a day to the forest, returning with a moderate load on a wood-sled, dragged by hand. The men were impeded in their movements by having to go armed, and to keep a good look out for fear of attacks by Indians skulking in the neighbourhood. Covering parties of light infantry were detached for the protection of the wood-cutters.

months of that winter, Murray's soldiers toiled unceasingly in labours indispensable for saving themselves from being frozen in their cantonments, fiercely cold weather and prodigious falls of snow augmenting at the same time the demand for fuel and the difficulty of furnishing it.

The General was deeply sensible of the arduous nature of the work thus imposed on his troops, and the sufferings to which it exposed them; but it was a consolation to him to observe that they bore their hardships with undaunted courage and cheerfulness.* He also learned from time to time that the enemy, in their winter quarters, were subjected to many privations.†

It is scarcely necessary to say that the English soldiers were but ill adapted to bear the low temperature of a Canadian winter. The cold weather set in rather earlier than usual, and became occasionally intense by the middle of November. When engaged in the labours which have been described, or in outside duties more congenial to the feelings of soldiers, their faces, hands, and feet were often frost-bitten. Sometimes every man belonging to a detach-

* Soldiers employed in cutting and bringing in wood were allowed extra rations and pay, at the rate of five shillings a cord. The assistance derived from the country people was inconsiderable, for, though they were paid for their services, the General was dissatisfied with their inefficiency, pronouncing them either slothful or intentionally slow through disaffection.

† In the city of Quebec, wood was rated at fifteen shillings a cord, while the prices of hay, straw, oats, &c., were proportionally moderate. In the French garrisons at Montreal and Sorel, commodities were much dearer; in relation to which Murray observed, "Surprising that, while it costs the troops of the King of Great Britain about fifteen shillings for a cord of wood, the King of France, having all the Canadians at his devotion, should have to pay at the same time more than fifty shillings per cord!" The French troops in garrison were on short allowance of food during the whole winter.

ment of wood-cutters, or covering-party, suffered in that way; the evil being greatly increased by carelessness, which no amount of vigilance on the part of the officers could prevent. It was not uncommon for fifty or sixty severe cases of frost-bite to occur within the space of twenty-four hours; and on occasions when detachments were sent out on military duty against the enemy's outposts, or into the parishes around Quebec, upwards of one hundred men would sometimes be borne back entirely disabled from the same cause.* In consequence, as well from intense cold as from other causes, the hospitals were crowded. Fever, dysentery, and, above all, scurvy, prevailed in the garrison during the whole winter. As a proof that outdoor exposure to hardship, combined with indomitable carelessness on the part of the men, formed the chief source of disease, the women attached to the regiments were at all times in good health. They were always fit for the duties assigned them —washing, cooking, nursing the sick, making wads and sandbags for the artillery—subsisting on two-thirds of the rations allowed for the men. Their number was 569, and not one perished from sickness. The men in garrison at the end of October were 7313 of all ranks. In February 1760, the number of men fit for duty was 4800; two months later, towards the end of April, it was only 3400.

* Sentries were relieved every hour. To enable the men to move about with facility, *mocassins* and *snow-shoes* were ordered for all, as well as *creepers* to be attached to the heels of their boots. Knox says respecting the aspect of officers and men in cold weather, "They present a grotesque appearance on grand parade. The inventions to guard against the rigour of the climate are various beyond imagination. The uniformity and nicety of the clean methodical soldier is buried in the rough fur-wrought garb of the frozen Laplander. They resemble rather a masquerade than a body of regular troops. Men cannot recognise familiar acquaintances, and movements are always hurried. Notwithstanding all precautions, men and officers are frost-bitten in their faces and limbs."

The bodies of those who died were deposited in the snow, to await interment in the spring.

There does not appear to have been any deficiency of necessaries, excepting suitable fuel. Provisions were abundant until March, when fresh meat and vegetables could no longer be procured, and the troops, officers included, were necessarily restricted to the use of food which was, in the language of Captain Knox, "*hard*, *salt*, and *disgustful*." General Murray had established excellent regulations concerning the prices of commodities of all kinds, having availed himself of the aid of the merchants and shopkeepers, French and English, in determining the rates which would be just both to sellers and buyers. The butchers and bakers in the town were obliged to take out licenses, and conform to certain fixed charges, those for meat being from 4d. to 6d., and for bread, 3d. to 5d. per pound. The inhabitants of the country during a part of the winter came in to market with various kinds of produce, and, when this ceased, the officers were in the habit of procuring supplies through an agent whom they sent out for the purpose to the surrounding settlements.*

* Flying parties of the enemy's troops committed some barbarities on the inhabitants known to hold intercourse with the garrison at Quebec. On one occasion they maltreated a Canadian severely at Point Levi, when about to cross the river in a boat laden with fresh provisions for sale to the English. His boat and goods were seized, and he beaten and wounded by their sabres, and finally dismissed with the injunction to "go and inform the fine English General of the manner in which we have used you, and in which we shall presently treat him and his valiant soldiers."

It is worthy of notice that the enemy's troops never interfered with the wood-cutters in the direction of Ste Foye and Sillery. This was no doubt owing in part to the excellent arrangements made for their protection; but it was the general opinion in the garrison that there was a tacit understanding on the subject, in virtue of which the French commanders at the outposts abstained from attempts to meddle with them. It was stated in fact, and generally believed, that the Governor had caused an intimation

A few details of the course pursued by General Murray towards the inhabitants must next be given. He was not, as a man, heartless or inaccessible to the influence of the principles of humanity and justice, nor did his views concerning the Canadian population differ essentially from those of his predecessors.* He naturally felt, as a British officer intrusted with the command of an isolated force of seven thousand men, that his first and paramount duty was to secure their safety. Accordingly his measures were dictated, in the first place, by the exigencies of his position with respect to the security of his own troops, and the

to reach De Vaudreuil and De Levis to the effect that if his wood-cutters should be attacked by their troops he would retaliate by means of heavy exactions imposed on the inhabitants, convents, and religious bodies. Such an understanding might possibly have been entered into when De Bougainville visited the garrison on September 30, 1759, under a flag of truce, and held some hours' conference with Generals Monckton and Townshend. His errand, or the motives of his coming, did not transpire at the time. On that occasion De Bougainville was allowed to go to the General Hospital, and remain three days there, after which he was "ordered to depart and return to his colours."—(See Knox, vol. ii. p. 115.)

* We might infer Murray's views on this subject from his own reference to those of Generals Wolfe and Monckton. He says, "Mr Wolfe, after warning the Canadians, chastised them for not returning to their houses and quitting their arms. Mr Monckton, rightly considering that the conquest of the land, if bereaved of inhabitants and stock, would be of little value, gave them the strongest assurances of safety, and even encouragement if they submitted. They confided in his promises. The country was yet but partially conquered, and it would have been as impolitic to have crushed the inhabitants as it was necessary to oblige them to give a reasonable assistance to his Majesty's forces.". At the time when General Murray made the foregoing observations, the inhabitants of the province, from Cap-Rouge on the north and the Chaudiere on the south shore of the St Lawrence, had submitted, surrendered their arms, taken the oath of fidelity (neutrality), and had agreed, in consideration of being paid reasonable prices, to furnish bullocks, hay, straw, oats, and other commodities, as well as to assist in transporting fuel for the garrison.

honour of his king and country. These being provided for, he felt bound to consider the case of the inhabitants and their rights as non-combatants, whom the fortune of war had placed at his mercy and under his protection. He was not unmindful of the sufferings they had already been subjected to, and which strengthened their claim to humane treatment; but, at the same time, he could not doubt that they were at heart still loyal to their king,—the King of France,—longing for the day when he should resume his own, and disposed, should opportunity occur, to assist in bringing this about by the expulsion of his enemies, whose presence amongst them as conquerors would be all the more obnoxious to their feelings and instincts, because they were foreigners, and looked upon as heretics. Making reasonable allowance for the circumstances in which General Murray was placed, the candid reader will probably not pronounce General Murray's policy towards the inhabitants injudicious or cruel, or that it was executed with a too rigorous strictness. Immediately after the surrender of Quebec those who had served in arms as militiamen had been required to take an oath of neutrality, binding themselves to abstain from all acts hostile to the interests of the King of Great Britain. After being sworn and disarmed, they had been allowed to depart. Murray adopted a similar course with respect to the inhabitants generally, being unwilling to accept any professions of amity as a guarantee for his own security. All who chose to formally signify their submission by taking the oath were promised protection on surrendering the arms they had in their possession. Steps were taken subsequently for disarming all the inhabitants of the parishes understood to be included in the terms of the capitulation.

Such of the population of the city as were unprovided with the means of support during the winter, were permitted to withdraw to the country with their families and effects, these being first subjected to a strict search to prevent the removal of anything immediately necessary for the garrison, or likely to prove useful to the enemy. Soon afterwards, a circular was addressed to the captains of militia and curés of the parishes held to be included in the capitulation, enjoining upon them to furnish an exact census, specifying the names, ages, and sexes of the people, with a statement of their grain, cattle, and other property. This was followed by a circular, ordering the people in every parish to give up all their arms, before 1st November, to the captains of militia, who were made personally responsible for their safe custody. On 12th November, when the circumstances under which a raid by the enemy's light troops had been conducted appeared to implicate the country people, General Murray issued a manifesto, warning the inhabitants not to bring fresh misfortunes upon themselves by co-operating in overt or secret acts of hostility, and representing how little they could expect from a beaten and dispirited army which had already abandoned them and their capital. He, at the same time, established a court of civil jurisdiction, appointing one of his colonels chief judge, and a few of the inhabitants, whose character was good, to fill the other offices. General Murray entertained mistrust of the Jesuit fathers, a few of whom remained in occupation of the college founded in the city by their Order in 1632. He dreaded their intrigues, and was apprehensive lest, in place of observing a strict neutrality, they would be instrumental in maintaining communication between disaffected citizens and the enemy

outside.* For these and other reasons, he considered it expedient to give them notice to depart, as he intended to convert the vast building into a magazine for provisions and military stores. The fathers reluctantly complied, but their enforced removal, and the subsequent occupation of the college as a magazine, gave umbrage to the inhabitants of the town. To prevent the inhabitants from encouraging or conniving at desertion, and from administering to the predominant vice of his soldiers, drunkenness, General Murray had recourse to very severe measures. For the former offence the punishment was death, and a reward of five guineas was offered for a deserter's apprehension, together with the same amount for information leading to the conviction of those at whose persuasion the crime of desertion had occurred. On one occasion, a soldier of the 60th Regiment was captured in the act, when the General having discovered that he and others had been enticed to desert by a citizen who was formerly a soldier in the French army, caused the latter to be tried at once, and then executed, pursuant to sentence, along with a man of the 48th Regiment, who had been convicted of robbing and maltreating a French inhabitant. Soon afterwards, the man

* According to Knox, the Jesuit fathers had afforded proof of their ability to influence the proceedings of the French military commanders outside. He says, in relation to the abduction of some cattle from the general hospital by French cavalry on 23d October, "A message sent on 24th October to the Jesuit fathers, that if the stolen cattle be not returned, their Society should be expelled from the town; consequently the animals were safely returned this evening, the fathers having reported the facts to the French commanders." Murray himself makes mention, in his journal, of the removal of the cattle as having occurred before 12th November, but does not mention the other particulars stated by Knox, who also differs from Murray as to the date of the expulsion of the Jesuits, and the occupation of the college as a magazine.

who had tried to desert was also convicted and sentenced to death, but was reprieved on undertaking to prove the guilt of a certain priest accused of tampering with the troops. Another priest, named Baudouin, was dismissed from the town for interfering with sick soldiers in hospital. Desertion, in a military point of view, being regarded as an unpardonable offence, the reader cannot feel surprised at the stern severity with which a general in Murray's peculiar position would be disposed to punish all concerned in it.

To check drunkenness, all the licenses which had been granted for the sale of liquor were revoked; and it was further ordered that a soldier found intoxicated should be imprisoned, and led out every morning to receive twenty lashes, until he chose to inform against the party who had supplied the drink. On conviction, the property of the latter was confiscated, with, sometimes, the additional punishment of being flogged through the town. For this offence the prescribed penalties were inflicted with relentless severity, and there occurred cases in which even women were the sufferers.* These measures, which had reference exclusively to the selling of liquor to the soldiers —for there was no regulation against the sale amongst the inhabitants—had the effect of putting an end to a state of excessive disorder and want of discipline at one time prevalent in the garrison.†

While the internal affairs of the garrison and town engaged a great share of General Murray's attention, the

* Two women and a man were whipped through the streets on 29th November for selling drink to soldiers contrary to regulations.

† Some weeks later, it was found out that soldiers had devised a method of secretly obtaining liquor from vendors in the Lower Town, upon which General Murray strictly forbade any to be sold in the town and suburbs.

exigencies of his position, in a military point of view, were never neglected. As already intimated, it was the policy of the enemy to carry on a harassing system of warfare during the winter by means of the troops stationed at Jacques Cartier and Pointe-aux-Trembles. The river Cap-Rouge, near the mouth of which, on the west side, they had a small outpost, served as a boundary between the English and French forces. General Murray's outposts at Ste Foye and Lorette were maintained throughout the winter, and enabled him both to keep the enemy in check, and to procure the earliest information of any important movement; for there were incessant rumours that De Levis, with his whole force, meant to advance upon Quebec and carry the place by escalade. It was alleged that ladders had been provided, and all the requisite preparations made for executing that design. First, the time for the assault was affirmed to be about the middle of December, as De Levis and his officers had settled upon spending Christmas in the ancient capital, under the French flag; then later periods were assigned, from time to time, along with various pretexts to account for the delay. Although General Murray regarded these rumours as illusory, and intended chiefly to impose upon the credulous inhabitants, yet he omitted no precaution.

To guard against surprise, recourse was had to the erection of a chain of blockhouses, or wooden forts, between Cape Diamond and St Rochs, outside the ramparts, and fronting the Plains of Abraham. They were constructed at intervals of about 700 yards, and fitted up inside for the occupation of small bodies of soldiers as guards.

At the distant outposts, also, the utmost vigilance was exercised.* De Levis certainly succeeded in his purpose,

* Rockets were to be used for making night-signals, but Lorette was

if this was confined to creating false alarms in the garrison, and thereby adding to General Murray's anxiety and the fatigue of the soldiers, for, on several occasions, the whole of the English troops were kept under arms all night in expectation of an attack.

Although there was not any very serious fighting in the course of the winter, yet occasional skirmishes occurred in which men were killed and wounded, and prisoners captured. In the early part of November the English outposts were attacked. The French were easily repulsed with loss to themselves. In retaliation, Captain Walsh, with a corps of seven hundred men, was detached to beat up the French quarters at Pointe-aux-Trembles during the night of 15th November, and then to levy contributions on the residents in that neighbourhood, and to incapacitate them for co-operating with the enemy's armed forces. This enterprise, however, was not fully carried out, as the approach of daylight arrested Captain Walsh's march when nearly a mile from his destination, so that it ended in making a few prisoners and in burning the dwellings of some inhabitants who had joined the French troops.* Later in the same month, a small outpost occupied by a

found to be too far off for this method to be relied on, and orders were given to fire a cannon whenever the least movement of a suspicious nature on the part of the enemy was observed—the discharge to be repeated until answered from the town. Both at Lorette and Ste Foye the headquarters of the outposts were established in the churches, which were fortified.

* General Murray deplored this failure, which he attributed to a misapprehension of his orders, and subsequently, when he thought it necessary to order Major Hussey at Lorette to draw in his advanced guards into the church and defend his post to the last extremity, he remarked, "I now realised how unlucky it was that my scheme on 15th November had not been carried out, which would have prevented the enemy from subsisting any body of troops this side of the Jacques Cartier." It was at this time, 28th November, that the blockhouses to cover the fortifications of the town were begun.

sergeant and twelve men was assailed by a much superior number of French soldiers, who were beaten off with loss. In order to deter the inhabitants from assisting the enemy in such enterprises, whether by furnishing information to facilitate their operations, contributing supplies, or by joining their ranks, General Murray sent out detachments to enforce the delivering up of arms, and to destroy the property of those known to be absent with the French forces. This was effected, as leniently as the circumstances permitted, throughout the neighbouring parishes and along the south shore of the St Lawrence. But the inhabitants of the country between the rivers Etchemin and Chaudiere were treated more harshly than the others, all their habitations being burned by the General's order. General Murray published his reasons,* expressing at the same time the pain which it gave him to be forced to deal so severely with them.

Notwithstanding the reports continually brought in concerning the preparations of De Levis for retaking the town by assault, three months of the winter passed away before the English garrison witnessed any hostile movement calculated to substantiate the truth of those rumours. Early

* Those inhabitants had harboured detachments of the enemy's troops on various occasions, and more particularly when hostile movements were made in the direction of Point Levi and lower down on the south shore. Other reasons assigned for the punishment inflicted on them were, that they had tried to raise a general revolt throughout the Quebec district against the British; that they had sent all their young and able-bodied men to join the French troops; and that in other respects they had disobeyed the English Governor's orders, and neglected to attend to the regulations he had established with reference to non-combatants and their families. General Murray stated that false reports were made to him by the captains of militia, who were required by his regulations to bring in information concerning anything that transpired of a nature hostile to the garrison. The false reports alluded to concerned military movements as well as requisitions made by the enemy's forces on the inhabitants for supplies of meat, grain, &c.

in February, however, it became known that a considerable body of French soldiers had been detached to Point Levi, and that Indians had passed into the Island of Orleans. The English had no posts established on the south shore of the St Lawrence or on the island; but as the river was frozen over on 3d February, and shown to be passable by troops and cannon on the 12th, General Murray resolved to dislodge the enemy at Point Levi, and to occupy the position with a force strong enough to maintain itself there. Accordingly, after ascertaining that the enemy's detachment numbered about five hundred men, he sent out a party with two pieces of cannon to march directly across and attack the French in front, while a body of light infantry was ordered to effect a passage over the St Lawrence higher up and cut off their retreat. Huge blocks of ice along the south shore made it very difficult for the English to land and bring up artillery, and, in consequence of the delay, the French had time to make good their retreat, which was effected without encountering the English light infantry, by means of a precipitate flight into the woods. The English captured one officer and eleven men, and the affair resulted in the loss of a few killed and wounded on both sides. General Murray ordered the post to be held, and two hundred men were stationed there in the church and in the house of the curé. On two subsequent occasions* demonstrations were

* On 22d February, 700 men were sent to cross the ice from Pointe-aux-Trembles and march towards Point Levi. These retired on finding the English on the alert. On 24th February a larger force, consisting of nearly 1200 men, was detached, and, being observed moving towards the church, Murray in person marched out to oppose them, taking with him three regiments, with light infantry and cannon. The French again retired precipitately, losing a few in killed and wounded, and about twenty prisoners, being followed on their retreat by the English through the country between the Etchemin and the Chaudiere. The inhabitants supported these movements of the troops from Pointe-aux-Trembles.

made by detachments of troops from Pointe-aux-Trembles to re-occupy Point Levi; and General Murray became convinced that the French commanders deemed that position essential to the success of their designs against the town. He therefore caused three blockhouses, similar to those which covered the fortifications of Quebec, to be constructed in positions which commanded the high road to Point Levi, as well as the landing-places, which were completed and occupied by troops and cannon in the early part of March. No further attempts were made by the French to establish themselves at Point Levi, the English remaining unmolested in occupation of the wooden forts* there until the 26th of April, when Murray needed at Quebec the presence and services of all his men. On 19th March strong reinforcements were sent to the outposts at Ste Foye and Lorette, with the intention of organising an attack upon the French at Calvaire and Brulé, situated at some distance beyond the stations occupied by the British. Next day, after a night-march, the design was carried out by bodies of light infantry under the command of Captains M'Donald and Archbold, who had only a few of their men wounded, although many were frost-bitten on the way to the scenes of action. The French lost several killed, and nearly a hundred prisoners.

By this time the English garrison had suffered so much from sickness and death, that General Murray was disinclined to engage in any operations against the enemy which could be avoided. Although his troops throughout the winter, except on one occasion,† had been successful in all

* The blockhouses were used about six weeks. When the time came for abandoning them, they were burnt and the cannon spiked.

† A small party of the British had fallen into an ambuscade on 20th February and been overpowered, losing eight men in killed and prisoners.

the collisions which had occurred, yet the fatigue and exposure attendant on the petty warfare at the outposts had greatly increased the sick-list. He knew not how soon he might be obliged to confront the combined French forces with an army reduced to less than four thousand men fit for duty; and the rumours of what was going on at the French headquarters were assuming a form so definite that he could no longer believe they were intended merely to create false alarms in his garrison, or to keep up the spirits of the inhabitants. He had even been made aware of the presence of spies or agents, sent from Montreal to entice thither artificers from Quebec, whose services were said to be required in making preparations for a great expedition.*

Towards the latter part of the winter the hospitals were fearfully crowded with diseased soldiers, and there were numerous funerals every day. Every regiment suffered nearly in proportion to its numbers, the most sickly being the 28th, 35th, 43d, 3d battalion of the 60th, and the Highlanders. The last named, contrary to what has often

* A good deal of secret correspondence passed between Quebec and Montreal in the course of the winter. Merchants found means of transmitting specie and drafts in payment for furs purchased at Montreal, which was found very inconvenient at Quebec. Murray tried to stop this, denouncing it as "a destructive commerce." To raise money for replenishing the military chest, he published a proclamation, requesting the friends of his Majesty to lend on bills of exchange given by himself and his second in command, Colonel Burton. Eight thousand pounds were thus procured, of which *one-fourth* was contributed by the officers and men of the Highland regiment.

Very strict measures were resorted to to prevent correspondence with people outside and at Montreal by letter. Some were imprisoned for not showing letters received to the General; members of the religious houses were suspected of transmitting and receiving information, and were forbidden to persist in doing so, with threats of expulsion.

been represented, suffered in a greater ratio than the others,* having more than half their number in hospital at the time when De Levis was known to be on his march against the garrison. Although General Murray was well seconded by his officers in devising and carrying out measures for dealing with the appalling sickness prevalent among the troops, yet the havoc of disease and death continued to increase up to the time when the dangers threatening the safety of the whole garrison were brought to a crisis by the near approach of the hostile army.†

* The number of Highlanders in hospital sometimes exceeded one-half of the whole Highland corps in the garrison.

† A staff of twenty-five medical men, assisted by five hundred female nurses, and such of the convalescents as were not well enough to resume outside duties, attended to the hospital work.

As a preventive of disease an infusion of spruce leaves was administered throughout the garrison, the commanding officers being made responsible that the men drank of it at least twice a day. Vinegar, wine, ginger, &c., were issued from the stores for a like purpose, to be taken mixed with water.

Murray did not recognise in his general orders, published from time to time, the alarming state of the garrison owing to sickness, from motives of policy. He even suggested in that way, and by the terms he used, that the state of health was not bad, considering the length of time passed in winter quarters and the other circumstances; but his suggestions were contradicted by the crowded condition of the hospitals and the numerous funerals observed by the men on duty, and were also at variance with the facts recorded by himself in writing.

The spirits of the men were much depressed in consequence of the prevailing sickness, coupled with the reports spread among them about the French coming down from Montreal in force to attack them. To counteract this evil influence Murray resorted to a ruse. A small party of rangers were told to cross the river, and come upon some of the outguards, as if they had been sent express from General Amherst, the news of which soon spread in the garrison and among the inhabitants, visibly inspiring the former with cheerfulness but discouraging the latter, whose gratification at the deplorable state of the English had not been concealed. This occurred in the first week of April, when Murray, to increase the effect of

At length precise intelligence arrived that the French forces were descending the river to Pointe-aux-Trembles and Cap-Rouge, bringing their supplies of food and war material in several armed vessels, accompanied by transports, batteaux, and rafts. On 10th April the ice gave way above the town, and soon afterwards passed down the river, upon which General Murray made arrangements for sending a schooner with dispatches for the British naval commander, whose coming he desired to hasten. He knew that the plan of De Levis was to land his military stores at Cap-Rouge, and then march direct upon the city. To prevent this, and to check his advance, or at least to gain time by compelling him to make a detour by routes scarcely passable, General Murray proceeded in person to Cap-Rouge, and ordered the heights to be fortified. To relieve the garrison from any embarrassment or opposition that might be apprehended from the population of the city, he caused a proclamation to be posted up on all the public places, intimating that the enemy were coming to besiege the town, and that the inhabitants must depart, with such effects as they might choose to take with them.*

his ruse, published a manifesto, in which he alluded to his Majesty's good inclination towards the inhabitants, and appreciation of the valour and fortitude of the troops. Another object which Murray had in view was to lessen the effects of proclamations which had been issued by Governor De Vaudreuil.

* Three days were allowed for the necessary preparations and removal. The people were directed to leave any effects they chose at the quarters of the Recollets, where two substantial citizens, appointed by the inhabitants, might remain to take care of them, under the protection of a guard of soldiers. The urgent necessity of the measure was stated, and orders given that they should not come back until further notice. The inmates of two nunneries were suffered to remain, as they had been very useful in the care of the sick. The evacuation was made on 24th and 25th April, attended with much discomposure and distress. The male inhabitants

De Levis landed with his forces at Pointe-aux-Trembles on the 26th, and, without delay, marched on Lorette, crossing the river Cap-Rouge at several points above its mouth. Murray had caused all the bridges to be broken down, but neither this nor the impediments arising from rainy weather and extremely bad roads, prevented the French from advancing, and occupying the whole forest between Lorette and Ste Foye. Leading to the last-named place, a rough causeway, passing through the lowland "*Marais de Swede*," enabled De Levis to effect a flank march upon the high ground near Ste Foye church, and, by the unexpected rapidity of his advance, to menace the safety of the English outposts. In order to protect these, and to cover the retreat of his detachments which had been called in from Lorette and Cap-Rouge, the British general marched out to Ste Foye on Sunday the 27th, with some of his regiments, while others followed to take up positions between Ste Foye and Sillery. The French were seen painfully moving forward and sideways through the wooded and marshy tracts, lower down than the ground occupied by the British, whom they manifestly designed to outflank. But they could not venture to attack the English posted so advantageously, or before the bulk of their own troops should arrive, so that

were sullen, and prudently refrained from expressing their feelings; but the women were not so discreet. When their entreaties to be allowed to stay, coupled with promises to remain quiet, as well as to give the earliest intimation of De Levis' proceedings, were disregarded, they exclaimed against what they affirmed was a manifest violation of the capitulation, adding, "We have always heard the English called a faithless people; now we are convinced that they are so." Before the siege the population of the town was about 6700. That portion of it which spent the winter there must have been much less numerous. As showing that Murray's precautions, though of a very stern character, were necessary in view of his own safety, the inhabitants of the country generally joined the forces of De Levis in his subsequent siege of the place.

General Murray had time to secure the withdrawal of all his men from Cap-Rouge and Ste Foye. The British general, as night approached, thought proper to retreat to the town, after blowing up all his small magazines of provisions and ammunition, and spiking the cannon, which could not be brought away owing to the state of the weather and roads.* It may be mentioned here that, some time before, when he foresaw the probability of being obliged to maintain the fortress against a considerable French force, he had designed to intrench himself on the Plains of Abraham, with a view to which some preparations had been made. But the unhealthy condition of the garrison, as well as the presence of snow and the hardness of the ground, "everywhere impregnably bound up by frost," compelled him to defer carrying out his plan of defence until the advance of the French rendered its execution impossible. When he retreated into the town, on the evening of the 27th, his intention was to march out again next day, in order to reoccupy the elevated positions towards Ste Foye and Sillery, and to strengthen these, as well as circumstances should permit, by means of artillery, redoubts, and hastily constructed earthworks. On the French side, according to the statements of their own writers, the first object of the expedition was simply to establish themselves on the Plains of Abraham, there to await the arrival of expected supplies of artillery and of other necessaries for carrying on a siege.† But events transpired on the 28th of April, the

* The French irregulars followed the rear of the English, and succeeded in inflicting a slight loss.

The troops stationed at Lorette had been previously recalled, and it was now (27th April) that those which had occupied Point Levi were ordered over to Quebec.

† De Levis had no heavy cannon required for siege operations. His ex-

nature of which was different from that which had been foreseen or expected on either side.

308. On the morning of Monday, April 28th, 1760, General Murray led out his troops through the gates of St Louis and St John towards Sillery and Ste Foye, having so far changed his plans that he was disposed to fight a pitched battle at once, instead of endeavouring to follow a strictly defensive course until the arrival of the fleet with reinforcements should place him more on a par with his adversary in point of numbers. It has been alleged that he omitted to consult his principal officers on the occasion, and that these were in no expectation of a general action, because the troops were ordered to carry with them an immense quantity of intrenching tools. The disaster which befell the British, and, indeed, many of the circumstances connected with the operations of that day, have given rise to much controversy.* The following† is Murray's own explanation of his motives for fighting at once, instead of awaiting the enemy's attack within the fortress, and for committing the military error of which he has been accused

pectations of immediate aid in his design to capture the town rested chiefly on the probability of the arrival of the ship which had wintered at Gaspé, and which might soon be expected to make the passage up the river without interruption when the ice should have passed down. (See a former footnote.)

* Until recently it has been impossible to settle satisfactorily several points in dispute relative to the battle of Ste Foye, chiefly questions concerning General Murray's motives, the numbers on both sides, the losses, and the treatment which the English killed and wounded received at the hands of the French and their Indian auxiliaries. The author of this history takes the opportunity of acknowledging his indebtedness to Dr W. J. Anderson for a perusal of General Murray's Journal, of which a copy had been procured from the original at the War Office in London.

† Extracted from General Murray's letter to Mr Secretary Pitt, dated at Quebec, May 25, 1760.

—that of quitting an advantageous position, and thus affording his skilful adversary a much better opportunity than he otherwise would have had of turning to account his superiority in numbers:—

"The enemy was greatly superior in number, it is true; but when I considered that our little army was in the habit of beating that enemy, and had a very fine train of field artillery; that shutting ourselves up at once within the walls was putting all upon the single chance of holding out for a considerable time a wretched fortification (a chance which an action in the field could hardly alter, at the same time that it gave an additional one, perhaps a better), I resolved to give them battle; and if the event was not prosperous, to hold out to the last extremity, and then to retreat to the Isle of Orleans or Coudres with what was left of the garrison, to wait for reinforcements.

"This night the necessary orders were given; and half an hour after six next morning, we marched with all the force I could muster, viz., three thousand men, and formed the army on the heights. . . . . While the line was forming, I reconnoitered the enemy, and perceived their van had taken possession of the rising ground three-quarters of a mile in our front, but that their army was upon the march, in one column, as far as I could see. I thought this the lucky moment, and moved with the utmost order to attack them before they had formed."

Elsewhere, in the diary kept by himself, General Murray placed on record the following condensed narrative of the operations and disasters of that fatal day:—

"As I considered the enemy, so near at hand, would never suffer us to fortify the Plains of Abraham, which, even unmolested, the chief engineer thought would take up

ten days to execute on the plan proposed; that the garrison was so sickly it could hardly be equal to the task of guarding both the town and the lines; having also confidence in troops hitherto successful, I resolved to give them battle before they could establish themselves. In consequence, I marched out, having given my orders this morning, with all the force I could muster,* in two columns, and as soon as I arrived on the heights I formed this little army in the manner following:—The right wing, consisting of Amherst's (15th Regiment), Anstruther's (58th), Second Battalion of Royal Americans (60th), and Webb's (48th), was under command of Colonel Burton; the left wing, composed of Kennedy's (43d), Lascelles' (47th), Highlanders (63d, 78th), and Bragg's (28th), was commanded by Colonel Fraser; the reserve, composed of Otway's (35th), and Third Battalion of Royal Americans (60th), was under command of Colonel Young. Major Dalling, with a corps of light infantry, covered the right flank; Captain Donald M'Donald, a brave and experienced officer, with a company of Volunteers and Hazzen's Rangers, covered the left. The battalions had each two field-pieces.†

* Whereas Murray, in the letter to Secretary Pitt, says his force was "three thousand men." Colonel Knox states three thousand one hundred and forty; and Colonel Malcolm Fraser, then a lieutenant, and also present in the battle, assigns "about three thousand," of whom, he further states, "one-third had that very day come voluntarily out of the hospitals, and of these about five hundred were employed in dragging the cannon, and five hundred more in reserve, so that we could have had not more than two thousand men in the line of battle."

† Colonel Fraser says, "We marched out with twenty pieces of field-artillery, that is, two to each regiment. The men were likewise ordered to carry a pickaxe or spade each." Captain Knox specifies "two twelve-pounders, twelve six-pounders, two howitzers, with intrenching tools, as if intending to cover the town."

"While the line was forming, I reconnoitered the enemy, and saw their van busy in throwing up redoubts, while their main body was yet on march. I thought this the lucky moment, and moved the whole to attack them before they could have time to form. They were beat from their works, and Major Dalling, with great spirit, forced their grenadiers from a house they occupied to cover their left. Here he and several of his officers were wounded. His men, however, pursued the fugitives to their second line, which checked our light infantry, which immediately dispersed in front of our right, and prevented Colonel Burton from taking advantage of that first impression made on that left flank. The light infantry was immediately ordered to clear the front and regain the right, but in attempting this they were charged, thrown into confusion, retired to the rear, and never could be brought up again during the action. As soon as I perceived this, I ordered Major Morris, with Otway's battalion, to wheel up and cover the right flank, which recovered everything there. But, in a little while after, the left gave way, although they had early made themselves masters of two redoubts. I ordered Kennedy's, from the centre, and the Third Battalion Royal Americans, from the reserve, to sustain them, but they were too late; the disorder spread from the left to the right, and the whole retired under the musketry of our blockhouses, abandoning their cannon to the enemy.*

* Colonel Fraser says that most of the regiments tried to bring off their cannon, but that the ground was so bad with wreaths of snow in the hollows, that they were obliged to abandon them, after nailing them up (*spiking* them), as well as the intrenching tools.

Knox states, "An obstinate conflict ensued, which lasted two hours, the enemy fighting chiefly for the object of outflanking us, and making their way behind us to Quebec, for which purpose De Levis continually strengthened his wings, and endeavoured to get round. We were out-fought by

Nothing more could now be done but to give the troops time and rest, and endeavour to keep the enemy out of the town. The chief engineer being wounded, I ordered Captain Holland to visit the works, and all the officers and men to parade for work at five next morning. This evening the French ships anchored off the Foulon (Wolfe's Cove)."

The loss of the British in this battle was about three hundred killed and seven hundred wounded, with a few prisoners; but of those known to have remained behind on the field in consequence of their wounds, many were never seen or heard of again, and it was supposed that they were murdered and scalped by the savages who accompanied the French army, to the number of about three hundred. Nor did the victors take the trouble to inter the dead bodies of the British soldiers who had fallen in the battle, as was ascertained some time afterwards. The French loss was variously stated, but there is reason to believe that it greatly exceeded that of the British. Thus ended the battle of Ste Foye, sometimes styled "the second battle of the Plains of Abraham." *

When the defeated army had re-entered the town, unpursued by the French, because, according to Knox, they had been too "roughly handled" in the fight, General Murray ordered the gates to be closed, and the guards on the ramparts, who had not been relieved since morning, to be changed. He then issued the following manifesto:—

"The 28th of April has been unfortunate to the British arms, but affairs are not so desperate as to be irretrievable.

numbers, many of our men knee-deep in snow and swampy ground. When the men were ordered to 'fall back' they were unwilling to obey, shouting out with an oath, 'What is falling back but retreating?'"

* For some other particulars see the Appendix.

The General has often experienced the bravery of the troops he now commands, and is very sensible they will endeavour to regain what they have lost. The fleet may be hourly expected, reinforcements are at hand, and shall we lose in one moment the fruits of so much blood and treasure? Both officers and men are exhorted to patiently undergo the fatigues they must suffer, and to expose themselves cheerfully to some danger—a duty they owe to their king, their country, and themselves."

This appeal exercised little influence on the minds of the troops, both officers and men feeling that they had been exposed to an encounter under circumstances which afforded but very small chances of a successful issue. Many even believed that if the enemy had immediately followed up their victory, the town must have fallen into their hands. During several subsequent days, the men manifested a sullen, despondent state of mind, and irregularities * occurred in respect of attention to discipline. The returns showed that there now remained only two thousand one hundred soldiers fit for duty—less than one-third of the garrison as it stood at the beginning of the winter. The officers, although willing as before to obey orders, were very much affected by the discouraging state of affairs.†

* Knox says, referring to 30th April, "A bad state of things in the garrison; the soldiery breaking into houses and stores to get at drink; one hanged *in terrorem*." To restore order and discipline, General Murray detached parties to arrest all stragglers, with directions to shoot or hang on the spot all marauders caught in the act.

† They manifested reluctance to undertake any extra duty, unless expressly ordered to do so. When the General called for volunteers to go out on sorties in the night, only two or three sergeants and a few privates offered their services. Officers said they would go if commanded, but not otherwise. (Knox's Journal.)

In the course of a few days, however, the disorders which have been alluded to disappeared. The enemy had lost his golden opportunity of retaking the ancient capital of New France by a *coup-de-main*. Both officers and men recovered their spirits, and zealously entered upon the new phase of their fatiguing duties, resolved to die in defence of the fortress rather than surrender to the enemy. Meanwhile, the *Racehorse* was dispatched down the river to meet and hasten up the English fleet from Halifax, and to make known to the Admiral, Lord Colville, the condition of the Quebec garrison.

De Levis, after his victory, advanced upon the Plains of Abraham towards the English blockhouses, at some distance from which siege-works were immediately commenced. He caused the line for his trenches to be marked out, extending from the Foulon on his right, to the heights overlooking the St Charles on the left. Such artillery as he had, together with the stores of ammunition and provisions, were landed from the French ships at the same points, and brought up by the same routes as those which were had recourse to by the British after their victory of September 13th, 1759.

309. It would be tedious to narrate in detail the incidents of the brief siege of Quebec by De Levis, which was maintained by him eighteen days, from 28th April to 17th May; although, after 9th May, when a British war-vessel appeared in the basin, his hopes of success were damped, and finally extinguished on 16th May, by the arrival of several more ships belonging to the British fleet. While the French were vigorously pushing forward their works, General Murray was not idle in improving his means of defence. All in the garrison who could work toiled day and night*

* Convalescents in the hospitals were employed in making wads from

at the batteries, and in the preparations for rendering the service of the guns efficient. In the course of eight days, the Plains beyond the blockhouses, and all the intervening surface across which the enemy must pass to assault the ramparts, could be swept by lines of fire from one hundred and forty pieces of mounted cannon. Every night parties of rangers were sent out to watch in suitable positions, and to remain on guard under arms till daylight. A constant fire was kept up against the works of the enemy, whose approaches reached to within seven hundred yards of the walls by 6th May. Having unmasked their batteries on the 10th, the French began to bombard the garrison next day, and a fierce cannonade was kept up on both sides during thirty-six hours. The heaviest guns of the French were twenty-four-pounders, but although those of the British were of larger calibre, and though their fire was greatly superior to that of the besiegers, which did but little execution, yet General Murray and all his people felt that their safety depended on the early arrival of the fleet. Great, indeed, was their joy when the *Lostoffe* frigate appeared * —on May 9th, as already stated—and saluted the garrison with twenty-one guns; but the danger of being compelled to surrender, or to retreat from the place, continued to be imminent until the first division of the British fleet came up on the 15th. On the following morning, the *Vanguard*, which was a line-of-battle ship, and two frigates, worked up with the tide to take or destroy the French shipping at

old rope, and also at the gates to assist the artillery in filling sandbags. Even the women who could be spared from other necessary work were engaged in similar occupations in preparations for repulsing the enemy.

* Knox records that the officers and soldiers, overcome with joy, mounted the ramparts, and continued to shout and throw their hats into the air for nearly an hour, while the surrounding country resounded with the thunder of the artillery.

the Foulon, which was accomplished without much difficulty.* The English commodore next placed his ship in such a position as to bring the fire of her broadside to bear upon the trenches of De Levis, enfilading them. The consequence was, that the Chevalier, finding he could offer no resistance to his new assailants, and dreading the results of a sortie from the town, considered his position on the Plains no longer tenable. In the night of the 16th of May, arrangements were made for raising the siege. The French retired precipitately as if a panic had seized them, firing a last volley of musketry towards the ramparts of the town. They imagined that a body of fresh British troops might be landed above, to take them in the rear, while the garrison assailed them in front. But some hours elapsed before General Murray became aware of what had transpired. As soon as he learned the retreat of the enemy he hastened forth with detachments from all the regiments, hoping to overtake the French, and to have some revenge for his defeat on the 28th of April. He was, however, too late; for De Levis, retracing his steps by the route he had followed on his march towards the Plains, had already crossed the Cap-Rouge when his pursuers reached Lorette, so that only a few stragglers were captured. The French sick and wounded were all abandoned to the care of the inhabitants, who had done all they could to support the enterprise of De Levis.† The cannon in the trenches, the tents, war material, and intrenching tools, fell into the hands of the British. In the course of the siege the French

* Captain Vanquelin, in command of one of the French frigates, made a gallant though unavailing resistance. One small French vessel escaped.

† All the male inhabitants able to bear arms joined him after his victory at Ste Foye.

loss is reported to have exceeded nine hundred men,* while that of Murray's troops was less than thirty in killed and wounded.

All the anxieties of General Murray and his sorely-tried garrison concerning the movements of the French forces were now ended, and the ordinary duties of troops stationed in cantonments were resumed, without apprehensions of molestation by an enemy. Markets were established, and the people of the country encouraged to bring in produce, to be sold for money or bartered for salt-meat, and other commodities of which they stood in very great need. The former inhabitants of the city were not, however, allowed to return, until many weeks after the retirement of the French army. As soon as possible, the convalescents, and all the sick who could be moved, were sent to the Island of Orleans for the more rapid recovery of health, while soldiers not on the sick-list, but disabled for life, were provided with passages to their native country. In the course of June, definite instructions arrived from General Amherst to General Murray, in consequence of which a part of the garrison, after a repose of two months' duration, was ordered to prepare for an expedition up the St Lawrence.

310. On his retreat, De Levis left troops at the Jacques Cartier, Three Rivers, and Sorel, for the purpose of observing, and, if possible, impeding the movements which he felt sure the British commanders at Quebec would undertake against the French headquarters at Montreal. The issue of his expedition for the recovery of the capital had

* This large number, as compared with the English loss, is accounted for chiefly by the much greater efficiency of the artillery of the garrison, and partly by the effects of exposure and privations at that season of the year.

extinguished the hopes* which had been raised and cherished in the hearts of his soldiers and of the Canadians, who now deserted him in large bodies, as well as the Indians, to whom want of success was a sufficient reason for abandoning the French cause. By the time he arrived at his destination, his standard had been left by all excepting the majority of his regulars, and of the militia belonging to Montreal and its neighbourhood,† so that his numbers were reduced to less than five thousand men. The militia were sent to their homes for subsistence, while the soldiers not retained in quarters at Montreal and St Helen's Island were dispersed among the inhabitants for subsistence. ‡

311. The remainder of the campaign of 1760, although this cannot be said to have closed until about four months after the operations carried on in the vicinity of Quebec, was comparatively bloodless. The fighting, on a scale of any magnitude, was ended, and the subsequent proceedings of the British might be summed up by saying that but little more was left for them to do than to march in, by different routes, and take possession of conquered territory.

* The following occurs in a document published by the Quebec Literary and Historical Society:—"The unhappy state of the colony was now past remedy, and may be compared to (the state of) a man in his last agonies, to whom the physician continues to administer cordials, not from hopes of his recovery, but to allay and soften the violence of his sufferings. All that could now be expected was to obtain an honourable capitulation, favourable to its inhabitants, the colony being at its last gasp."

But Governor De Vaudreuil professed still to have hope. (See Appendix.)

† It would be impossible to assign with confidence the total number of regulars and militia which the French leaders now had it in their power to assemble in arms, supposing that all willing to continue the struggle could be brought together. An estimate, cited by a well-known military writer, suggests eight thousand.

‡ On the return of De Levis to Montreal, Governor De Vaudreuil issued a circular or manifesto, containing statements which the posture of affairs far from warranted. (See Appendix.)

The details need not to be fully described; and as the interest of the general reader is naturally attracted by what transpired at Montreal, to the exclusion of minor matters, only a brief narrative will be given of the incidents which preceded the final catastrophe.

The commander-in-chief, Sir Jeffery Amherst, had passed the winter in New England. He proposed to continue in 1760 the operations which he had prosecuted in 1759, as far as circumstances had permitted. But, instead of confining himself to the old military route into Canada, from Lake Champlain along the course of the river Richelieu, he determined to send only a part of his forces that way, and to conduct in person the bulk of his army from Albany and other points to Oswego, and thence by Lake Ontario and the river St Lawrence.* He likewise sent orders to General Murray to advance up the St Lawrence. His design was to concentrate at Montreal an army strong enough to crush the French in their headquarters, after the three divisions composing it should have traversed the routes leading thither from their respective points of departure, and should have put down all opposition on the way. Although some delay occurred in completing the preparations for executing so large a scheme, General Amherst's undertaking proved entirely successful.

* This part of General Amherst's plan of operations has been severely criticised by British and French military writers, who have based their objections to it upon the comparative length of that route from the Hudson river to Montreal, and the obstacles to be overcome in descending the St Lawrence to Montreal, and especially on the facility with which his advance might have been opposed by troops much smaller in number than his own. and his retreat cut off. Sir James Carmichael Smyth states ("Précis of the Wars in Canada," p. 87), "Had the French opposed with spirit the advance of this (Amherst's) corps, the most disastrous consequences must have ensued. An unconditional surrender appears by no means unlikely to have been the probable, if not unavoidable, consequence."

CHAPTER XXXII.

COLONEL HAVILAND'S CORPS MOVES DOWN THE RICHELIEU—GENERAL MURRAY ADVANCES UP THE ST LAWRENCE—GENERAL AMHERST'S ADVANCE—CAPTURE OF FORT LEVIS AND DESERTION OF THE INDIANS—PASSAGE OF THE RAPIDS—THE FRENCH FORCES SURROUNDED AT MONTREAL—CAPITULATION OF MONTREAL—CONCLUSION—RELICS OF THE FRENCH FORCES TRANSPORTED TO FRANCE—END OF THE FRENCH RÉGIME—MILITARY OCCUPATION OF CANADA—TREATY OF PEACE IN 1763.

312. THE troops intended to move by the route of the Richelieu were under the command of Colonel Haviland, and amounted to upwards of three thousand men, regulars and Provincials, with a small body of Indians.* On their arrival at Isle-aux-Noix, the French forces occupying the post made demonstrations of an intention to oppose the passage of the English, which obliged Colonel Haviland to commence siege-works, and establish batteries on the right banks of the river. The French, however, did not await the assault, but evacuated the island on 27th August, after they had caused a delay of nearly two weeks to their adversaries.† From Isle-aux-Noix Colonel Haviland moved on to St John's, which the French abandoned without

A.D. 1760.

* Amherst, as well as his subordinate generals, pursued strict measures for preventing the Indians from plundering or committing barbarities of any description, either upon inhabitants, prisoners, or wounded soldiers. The Indians were employed chiefly as scouts, and to assist in the management of boats, &c. Colonel Haviland had upwards of four hundred boats to convey the troops, besides a small naval armament, with which he set out from Crown Point on 11th August, arriving in sight of Isle-aux-Noix on the 16th.

† According to some French accounts their forces did not evacuate the intrenchments until a great number had been struck down by Haviland's artillery, and after most of the Canadian militia had deserted the garrison. M. De Bougainville was the French commander on the Richelieu.

offering any opposition. The latter continued to practise the same tactics, always retiring as the English force advanced. On leaving St John's, Colonel Haviland detached emissaries by the shortest route to the St Lawrence, with dispatches for General Murray, who was then understood to be on his way up the St Lawrence.* Finally, Haviland's corps reached Longueuil on 5th September, having quitted the line of the Richelieu, whence, being reinforced by some of Murray's soldiers, it crossed to the north shore of the St Lawrence, and landed on the Island of Montreal.

About a month before Colonel Haviland's force started from Crown Point, General Murray had already embarked at Quebec with 2450 men belonging to the ten regiments under his command. The troops were placed on board transports and barges, with provisions, artillery, and all other necessaries of war. Accompanied by the war-vessels, the *Diana* and *Porcupine* sloops, the flotilla passed Jacques Cartier and Deschambault on the 15th of July. Some shots were fired by the enemy's troops stationed at those points, by which an officer and three men were killed and several wounded. The expedition arrived off Three Rivers on 6th August, progress up the river having been delayed from time to time, in order that troops might be landed at various places where it was judged necessary to chastise straggling bodies of the enemy, or to administer the oath of neutrality to the inhabitants.† Frequent landings were made for the purpose of procuring supplies of fresh vegetables and meat, which the people on the south shore

* An officer of the provincials and four rangers from Colonel Haviland's force brought in dispatches to General Murray on his arrival off Varennes on 3d September.

† The oath taken was, "We do severally swear, in presence of Almighty God, that we will not take up arms against King George, or his troops, or subjects, nor give any intelligence to his enemies, directly or indirectly."

appeared very willing to sell or to furnish in exchange for other commodities. Nearly all the troops of the enemy seen were on the north shore. They observed and followed the movements of the English on the river all the way up. At Three Rivers, about two thousand men, dressed like regulars, were in sight, as well as a few Indians and some light cavalry.* There was some expectation that at Sorel, opposite to which the flotilla came on 12th August, there would be intelligence from Crown Point, and possibly a junction formed with British troops detached from that post. But Sorel was at this time the headquarters of the French forces on the Richelieu, and nothing was heard of Colonel Haviland's proceedings until three weeks more elapsed, by which time the whole passage to Montreal had been nearly accomplished. Before coming in sight of Sorel, General Murray had received word from Quebec that a reinforcement of two whole regiments had arrived there from the Louisbourg garrison, and that, according to previous understanding, they were to follow at once and support his operations on the river. Five days later; the barges conveying those regiments appeared in sight, being under the command of Lord Rollo. The latter reported to General Murray that his division had been treacherously fired upon at Three Rivers, in consequence of which, and of the hostility displayed at Sorel, he determined to inflict some chastisement. Lord Rollo was directed to land with a sufficient force about a mile below the town, and to advance towards the intrenchments of the enemy, but not to commence any serious military operations, lest the main pur-

* Many of these troops moved on to points higher up, and then crossed to Sorel, from which place the English flotilla was fired upon, and some time was spent in cannonading the enemy in return. A landing was made on the Island of St Ignatius, opposite to Sorel.

poses of the expedition to Montreal should be interfered with through delay. The French declined to leave their intrenched position to fight, and the English troops re-embarked, after destroying some habitations and other property in the vicinity, whose owners were absent and in arms.*

After leaving the neighbourhood of Sorel, the whole expedition moved leisurely up the river, until it reached the Island of St Therese, situated towards the lower end of the Island of Montreal. All the troops were landed there, and a manifesto was issued by General Murray, calling upon the inhabitants on both sides of the river to surrender their arms, and to remain peaceably in their homes. The inhabitants at Vercheres and Varennes had manifested hostility, and some skirmishing had occurred, ending in the capture of several prisoners, amongst whom were French regulars. From letters found at Varennes intelligence was obtained both of Colonel Haviland and General Amherst, and Murray made use of this in the terms of the manifesto. The population generally had become aware that Haviland's corps was advancing, and were terrified at the thoughts of having amongst them parties of Sir William Johnson's Indians. They were informed that the Indians serving with the British troops were not permitted to commit any disorders, and to the principal inhabitants safeguards were given for their own protection and that of

* On the Island of St Ignatius, opposite to Sorel, and at some other places, a few English captives were met with. One was a female, who gave some useful intelligence; another was a young man, formerly a fifer of the 35th regiment, who had been taken at Fort William Henry in 1757, and brought a prisoner into Canada. He had been sold as a slave, and, while he spoke French fluently, had forgotten English, though fifteen years old when taken. Knox mentions some other particulars respecting this youth.

their neighbours. By such measures, coupled with General Murray's assurances that any violation of his regulations as to plundering or violence on the part of soldiers and Indians would instantly be punished by death, large numbers of the Canadians came forward voluntarily and gave in their submission. At this time also, with the crowds of Canadians surrendering every hour, there came in great numbers of deserters from the French troops, "worn out with hunger and despair."

On 5th September news arrived that General Amherst had reached Isle Perrot, about thirteen miles above Montreal, and nearly at the same time that Colonel Haviland was approaching Longueuil. On the 7th General Murray and Colonel Burton crossed over to hold an interview with Colonel Haviland, after which they returned to the expedition, which had now advanced to a part of the river ten miles distant from Montreal; and the process of landing the troops and artillery was immediately commenced.

Captain Knox records that the surrounding country was beautiful and fertile, and that the inhabitants, so far from showing signs of hostility, behaved in the most friendly manner.* When the landing had been safely effected, the French troops on the island having offered no opposition, the whole of General Murray's division proceeded on its march towards Montreal. Having reposed for the night at Longue Point, General Murray continued his march next morning, and at noon on 7th September reached the north-east part of the city, where he issued his orders for the encampment of his troops outside, while he took up his own

* "The people brought us horses, some saddled for our officers to ride, others to draw our artillery and baggage. A curé came to his door, and saluting us, called out that we were welcome; while men and women lined the roads with pitchers of water and milk for the soldiers."

quarters in the suburbs.* The commander-in-chief had already arrived and taken up a position on the other side of Montreal. Of his previous proceedings some account will now be given.

General Amherst commenced his preparations for the expedition to Montreal in May 1760,† by ordering the troops which were to take part in it to be assembled at Albany, and to be there trained in military exercises until the proper time for marching should arrive. The route from Albany was to be through Schenectady to Lakes Oneida and Onondaga, in the Iroquois country, and thence to Oswego, where boats, barges, and armed craft, were to be in readiness to convey the expedition across the lower part of Lake Ontario and down the St Lawrence. The necessary arrangements at Oswego were not nearly completed when he reached that place with one division of the troops early in July, and he was detained there till the second week of August before the expedition could start. The force was composed of 10,142 men and officers, and there was besides a large body of Indians belonging to the Iroquois and twelve other nations.‡ Colonel Haldimand,

* Knox says, "By noon we reached the north-east of the city, and encamped with the high cape or mount (Mount Royal) in rear of the right of our line."

† On the 19th of May he was at Albany, when he received, by express from Boston, intelligence of the defeat of General Murray, and of the precarious condition of the garrison at Quebec, upon which he instantly sent orders to the commandant at Louisbourg to dispatch two regiments thence for the relief of Murray. These were the regiments which joined General Murray's expedition up the St Lawrence on 17th August, in the vicinity of Sorel, of which mention was made in a preceding page.

‡ Knox says there were 1330 savage warriors; Mante, whose "History of the Late War in America" was published in 1772, states the number to have been 706; and numbers differing from these have been assigned by others. The Indians soon began to desert when they found that Amherst

accompanied by Lieutenant-Colonel Amherst, the brother of the commander-in-chief, led the first division, which left Oswego on 7th August. General Amherst, with the Royal Artillery, regulars, and a part of the Indians under Sir William Johnson, left on the 10th; and Brigadier-General Gage followed on the 12th with eight battalions of Provincial troops, belonging to New York, New Jersey, and Connecticut. A prodigious number of boats and batteaux conveyed the troops and artillery, with the requisite provisions and military stores; and there were two armed vessels of sixteen and eighteen guns respectively,* named the *Onondaga* and *Mohawk*, which General Amherst had ordered down from Niagara to accompany the army, and to enable him to cope with two or three ships armed with twelve-pounders belonging to the French. On the 17th the expedition reached the small naval station named La Galette (*Osgewetchie*), when a boat attack was made on one of the French vessels, which was captured after a sharp conflict, with the loss of several men killed and wounded on both sides. A detachment was then sent forward to reconnoitre Isle Royale, on which Fort Levis had been constructed by the French for the purpose of commanding the passage up and down the river.† Amherst resolved to

would permit no plundering or violence of any kind to be committed on prisoners and inhabitants, so that when the expedition reached its destination, they could muster only 182 warriors.

* The guns were six-pounders.

† The commandant of Fort Levis was *Captain Pouchot*, the same who had defended Fort Niagara against General Prideaux and Sir William Johnson in 1759. He made a gallant resistance, about fifty men on each side being killed and wounded before he would surrender. Sir James Carmichael Smyth mentions both this fort and La Galette as being "miserable posts," yet Brigadier-General Gage had failed to destroy them as ordered by General Amherst in 1759. The capture of Fort Levis occupied General Amherst's army seven days, and five more days were employed in repairing it.

take possession of it, and, with this view, invested it in such a manner that the garrison could not escape by flight. It was taken, with some loss on both sides, after a bombardment of sixty hours. The Indians claimed the stores found in Fort Levis, and were proceeding, after their fashion, to enter the place in order to massacre the prisoners. But General Amherst sternly forbade them, which gave so much offence that a large number immediately deserted.* Among the prisoners taken at Fort Levis there were several men familiar with the navigation of the St Lawrence between Lake Ontario and Montreal, and who had been accustomed to act as pilots. These the General distributed among the divisions of his army, and their services were afterwards found to be very valuable. He had before him a most dangerous route to traverse, abounding in intricate passages and numerous obstacles, which those only could overcome who had acquired skill by long experience. But the principal difficulty lay in the fact that about forty miles of the passage down to Montreal would have to be accomplished through swift currents, which at intervals were impeded by small islands and rocky projections, and were thus converted into foaming waterfalls and cataracts, through which the most stout-hearted boatman would not have the courage to attempt to conduct a single passenger, much less a boatful of armed soldiers, unless he was well practised in that species of navigation.†

* Those who deserted filled twenty large boats. When they were leaving, General Amherst caused Sir William Johnson to inform them that he thought his forces sufficient to accomplish the objects of the expedition without their assistance; and that, while he wished to retain their friendship, he would assuredly chastise them severely if they should commit any acts of cruelty in returning to their villages—a menace which had all the effect intended.

† In regard to the alleged neglect of De Vaudreuil and De Levis to

Leaving a garrison of two hundred men at the captured fort, as well as all the sick and wounded of the army, amounting to as many more, the expedition passed down the river in safety, until it reached the Long Saut, leading into Lake St Francis, in which three men were lost—the rapids so named extending about twelve miles. From Lake St Francis, after a brief halt at Point Boudet, the army entered the channel between the Lakes St Francis and St Louis. This was by far the most dangerous part of the route for a distance of about eleven miles. Most of the army must have perished there if the boats had been suffered to follow each other closely. As it was, the precautions taken did not prevent their being crowded together at some places. The consequence was, that sixty-four boats, of which twenty-nine carried soldiers, and seventeen artillery, were dashed against the rocks, and eighty-eight men perished. These belonged to General Amherst's, or the first division of the army. The remaining divisions did not attempt the passage till the following day, when, greater precautions being taken, it was made without further loss of life. A great many of the boats were damaged,

oppose Amherst's descent at the most dangerous and difficult parts of his route, it appears not improbable that they may have placed too much dependence on Captain Pouchot's ability to act as Bougainville did at Isle-aux-Noix—namely, to avoid capture, and to retire before the enemy, merely watching their movements and for opportunities of inflicting loss. Amherst took extraordinary precautions to prevent the escape of any of Captain Pouchot's garrison. Had this, or a portion of it, contrived to save itself, after making a show of opposition, like De Bougainville's force, then it may be supposed that the retiring French would have annoyed Amherst's expedition while passing through the numerous rapids.

Some writers (amongst them Knox) mention Captain De La Corne as having been stationed on the north shore of Lake St Francis, some miles above the *Cascades* and *Cedars* rapids; but if he was there he did nothing in the way of interfering with Amherst's advance.

and in order to admit of repairing them, the whole army landed on Isle Perrot and encamped for one day.

On the following morning, 6th September, the troops re-embarked and passed along the shore towards Lachine, on the south-west end of the Island of Montreal, and landed there, the place of their destination being now only nine miles distant. Without loss of time, ten pieces of artillery were brought ashore, and the whole army,* disposed in marching order, moved swiftly towards the north-west side of Montreal. No opposition whatever had been encountered, either on the river, or at any of the places where the troops landed, and, as had occurred on the route of General Murray from St Therese, the inhabitants on Isle Perrot and on the Island of Montreal manifested no unfriendly spirit, but flocked in voluntarily to tender their submission, and to take the oath of neutrality.

Thus ended General Amherst's perilous passage, with a large host, from Oswego to Montreal, a distance, on the route he followed, of nearly two hundred and fifty miles, accomplished in about thirteen days.† In the course of the two days which preceded his arrival at the city, several opportunities had occurred of receiving some intelligence of the progress of General Murray and Colonel Haviland; and the commander-in-chief had now the satisfaction to find that his grand scheme had succeeded. He had swept away the fragments of the French forces from all the principal avenues leading to the heart of the Province, and had now at his mercy the few remaining defenders of New France completely surrounded in their headquarters—

* Except a few battalions of Provincials left to guard the boats at Lachine.

† Deducting the time of detention at Isle Royale from the whole time between 12th August and 7th September.

their last place of refuge. The final act of the drama remains to be recorded—painful, indeed, as certifying the utter collapse of the French power in America, as well as the end of the French régime in Canada, after the duration of a century and a half, but glorious in the estimation of the victors, as assuring the final accomplishment of objects for which the people of Great Britain and her American colonies had so long contended, and sacrificed so much blood and treasure.

313. What occurred at Montreal on 7th and 8th September 1760 can be briefly told. Amherst, in concert with the commanders of the British corps stationed on the opposite sides of the town, lost no time in disposing his forces as if about to bombard the place unless an instant surrender should be made, being well aware that the relics of the French troops which had been collected inside of the imperfect defences could neither resist effectively nor escape. But the intention to complete the business at once by means of artillery was interrupted, and the design of exacting an unconditional submission and the laying down of arms frustrated, by Governor Vaudreuil. He sent out a flag of truce during the night of the 6th, with a request that there might be a suspension of arms, to prevent the further effusion of blood, and with a view to arranging terms of surrender—proposals to which General Amherst saw fit to accede.* On the 7th, the French

* An incident occurred, threatening to precipitate hostilities, which would probably have terminated in a surrender different from that contemplated and hoped for by De Vaudreuil. General Amherst, after receiving the French Governor's proposals, desired to procure from General Murray some particulars of information relative to his division and the state of affairs at Quebec. On learning this, Murray sent an officer, Captain Maloney, to furnish the required information by word of mouth, but as the latter, with a small party, was passing round the walls to execute

Governor sent out M. de Bougainville, with a list of the articles or conditions upon which he would propose to surrender Montreal and the whole of Canada. A conference between the French officer and General Amherst ensued, followed, subsequently, by a correspondence, in which not only De Vaudreuil, but De Levis also, took part.* The gallant French General, asking, perhaps, better terms than, in a military point of view, it was reasonable to ask in behalf of the mere semblance of an organised force, was deeply offended at Amherst's resolution not to grant the "honours of war," but sought in vain to obtain a change in the British General's decision. After the capitulation was signed, De Levis publicly protested against articles which more immediately affected the French officers and soldiers. It is said that he even refused his concurrence in the capitulation, as the head of the French army in Canada, proposing to retire, with all who would follow him, to St Helen's Island, and there hold out to the last extremity.† General Amherst, on his side, appears to

his commission, it being night-time, some troops of Bourlamaque's corps intercepted him and took him prisoner. Next day, what had happened came to Murray's knowledge, and he marched at once with a force towards Bourlamaque's quarters, demanding the instant release of his officer. Bourlamaque came outside to confer in person on the subject, but demurred to giving an order for Maloney's release, upon which General Murray, reiterating his demand, said he would only allow five minutes for compliance; to enforce which he was proceeding to advance troops and artillery for the assault, when a messenger from Amherst came up and reported that a capitulation had been signed, and all Canada surrendered. The foregoing is substantially the account given by Captain Knox of this curious incident.

* For some particulars, see extracts from official documents in the Appendix to this work.

† De Vaudreuil prudently declined to sanction such an impracticable course of procedure, alleging that, in their deplorable circumstances, they must be content with the best terms the victors were willing to concede.

have been indisposed to grant terms irreconcileable with the state of the law and of public opinion in Great Britain, or prejudicial to the public interests, regarded from a British point of view. As respects his refusal to grant those stipulations which more immediately affected the French officers and soldiers, or to allow them to be so modified as to show some deference to their punctilious sense of honour, he declared himself actuated by a determination not to lose so proper an opportunity of manifesting disapproval of the course pursued by the French throughout the war, in relation to the barbarities perpetrated by their Indian allies.

Accordingly, the capitulation, of which an abstract will be given in the Appendix to this History, was signed on 8th September 1760, after the articles, as proposed by De Vaudreuil, had been corrected in order to suit the views of General Amherst.

Conclusion.—As soon as possible, arrangements were made for transporting to France the relics of the French army, together with all other persons whose passage was provided for by the articles of capitulation. Of those who belonged to the military service, and who laid down their arms at Montreal, the number was found to be two thousand two hundred officers and men,* exclusive of the militia, who were allowed to depart after giving in their submission in the usual form. The number just stated was only about the half of the whole number of regulars, and marine, or colony troops, understood to be included in the treaty; but, at the time of the surrender, many of these

* Such was the number reported by De Levis in his letter to the French Minister of Marine, dated at Rochelle, 27th November 1760, on his landing from the ship in which he crossed the Atlantic.

were prisoners in the hands of the British,* and there were, besides, stragglers and deserters dispersed among the inhabitants, as well as the small bodies of men still occupying petty posts on the St Lawrence and elsewhere.† Some, also, had married in the country, with the intention of settling down amongst the inhabitants, irrespectively of the disposition which might be made of the corps to which they had formerly belonged. Subsequently, including the individuals of various grades connected with the French Civil Service, officers and men of the army, sailors, women and children, upwards of 3200 persons required to be provided with accommodation for passing to France in British ships. Quebec was the appointed place of embarkation for the majority, but it proved very difficult to secure vessels enough and adequate space for the transportation of so many. In consequence, those victims of the fortune of war, and for the most part ill-requited subjects of the King of France, were unavoidably exposed to hardship on the way home.

At this time the resident population of Canada numbered upwards of 65,000 souls,‡ now happily delivered from the state of active warfare which had prevailed since the year 1754. The French régime, which may be said to have

* There were numerous prisoners at Quebec, and among them the regulars captured at Fort Jacques Cartier, which General Murray, while on his expedition up the St Lawrence, had ordered Colonel Fraser to invest. Colonel Fraser, on receiving the order, had promptly moved against the fort with one thousand men of the Quebec garrison, and had easily taken it, upon which the militiamen found there were sent home, but the regulars were detained as prisoners. (See Appendix.)

† The garrison captured by Amherst's forces at Isle Royale had been sent to New York; those of the remote western posts, Detroit, Michillimakinac, &c., and which surrendered to the British authorities in obedience to De Vaudreuil's orders, dispatched after the capitulation, were removed to New England sea-ports, and thence to France.

‡ De Vaudreuil had reported 70,000.

originated at the time of the foundation of the colony by Champlain, and to have been subsequently perfected under the Sovereign Council established in 1663, had now passed away. This council no longer existed. Of the three members mainly constituting the body, and in whom all its authority was centred, two—the Governor and the Royal Intendant—had quitted Canada, while the third was dead.* As Great Britain and France were still at war with each other, the ultimate lot of Canada could not be held to be settled by the capitulation. It remained to be seen whether the terms of this would be finally ratified by the Governments of the two countries when peace should be declared, or whether the colony would revert to its former status as a dependency of France. In the meantime, it devolved upon the commander-in-chief of the British forces serving in Canada to determine upon some definite mode of governing the country. Into the details of the system established—necessarily of an intermediate and temporary character—it is not intended to enter in this part of the history of Canada. It is only necessary to say, generally, that Amherst established a *military* system of government, in virtue of which all the affairs of the colony were placed under the control of councils of officers appointed for the three ancient districts of Quebec, Three Rivers, and Montreal. General Murray, as chief ruler, was placed over the Quebec district, while General Gage and Colonel Burton commanded at Montreal and Three Rivers respectively. It was provided that the local affairs of the inhabitants, and the adjustment of differences among themselves, should be, as far as practicable, deputed to the

* Bishop Pontbriand—who died at Montreal in June 1760—was the last episcopal member of that body, and, in the existing deplorable state of the colony, no successor had been appointed.

charge of the Canadian captains of militia. The commander-in-chief, General Amherst, after he had made all the arrangements which appeared to him necessary for guarding the colony against external attack and internal disorder, departed for New England, leaving a military force in Canada adequate to support the authority of his subordinates stationed in the conquered province.

The war in Europe continued until towards the end of the year 1762, when negotiations for peace between the belligerent powers were brought to a favourable issue, and preliminaries agreed upon, which resulted in the Treaty of Paris, signed by the respective plenipotentiaries on 10th February 1763. In virtue of the provisions of this treaty,* Canada and all its dependencies were ceded to Great Britain, and the future lot of the inhabitants decided by their becoming thenceforward subjects of the sovereign of England.

In the interval between the capitulation of Montreal and the signing of the Treaty of Paris, tranquillity reigned in Canada.† The population remained as happy and contented as could have been looked for under the rule of officials who, though alien to them in nationality, religion, language, and manners, were nevertheless distinguished for their honourable and humane conduct, and for their earnest zeal in promoting the well-being of those placed under their guardianship and protection.

* See "Extracts from the Treaty of Paris," No. XVII., Appendix.

† The only hostile attempts of France against Great Britain in America were undertaken in 1762, and these were not of a very serious nature. Four French ships of war and 1200 troops were directed against St John's, Newfoundland, at which place an English garrison (of sixty men) was compelled to surrender. General Amherst subsequently detached a British force from New York to dislodge the French, which was effected in September of the same year.

APPENDIX.

I.—FORT NECESSITY (page 290).

Abstract of the Articles of Capitulation.

Preamble.—Stating the intentions (of the French) to be "not to disturb peace and harmony, but only to revenge an *assassination*," &c.

Article 1. Grants liberty to depart, promises protection from injury by the French, and also by the savages, "as far as it shall be possible."

Article 2. Grants liberty to take away all property except artillery.

Article 3. Accords the "honours of war" in proof of future amity.

Article 4. The English flag to be struck.

Article 5. A French detachment to take possession on the morrow, &c.

Article 6. Grants permission to leave concealed such property as cannot be removed at once, with persons to watch it, on condition of desisting from establishing any settlement for a year, either in the same place or higher up the river.

Article 7. The English to give up prisoners made "*at the assassination of De Jumonville*," and to give hostages (Captains Wabram and Stobo).

(Signed in duplicate) JAMES M'KAY,
GE. WASHINGTON.
COULON VILLIERS.

Note.—The full text of the articles of capitulation has been given by Dussieux (pp. 126–128) and other French writers, copied from duplicate original documents preserved among the archives at Paris.

The following summary of the evidence which has been adduced on both sides, relative to the charge of *assassination*, may enable the reader to form his own judgment on the subject :—

M. DE CONTRECOUR, commandant at Fort Duquesne, reported to the Governor of Canada in the words, "At 7 A.M. they were surrounded, and two discharges of musketry were fired by the English, when M. De Jumonville requested them, by means of an interpreter, to desist, as he had something to say them. The firing ceased, upon which M. De Jumonville caused to be read the summons which I had sent to warn them off. . . . *The savages present informed me* that M. De Jumonville was killed by a ball through the head while listening to the reading of the summons, and that the English

would have cut to pieces the whole party if they (the savages) had not prevented this by rushing to the front of them."

M. DE LISLEDIEU, then Vicar-General of New France, wrote to the Minister of Marine, "The officer (Jumonville) carried a flag, and wished to read some orders, and declared he had come to parley with them (the English)."

GOVERNOR DUQUESNE reported to the Minister, "I have taken very much upon me in not putting everything to fire and sword, after the unworthy act of hostility committed on the detachment of M. De Jumonville. J. Berger and Joachim Parent (two returned prisoners who had been taken in the affair) confirm all the circumstances of the assassination."

GOVERNOR DE VAUDREUIL, the successor of Duquesne, reported, "I have the honour to transmit a list of those who accompanied M. De Jumonville. . . . You will see that nine men, together with M. De Jumonville, were assassinated by Colonel Wemcheston (*Washington*) and his troops."

In addition to the foregoing, contained in documents preserved among the Parisian archives, other evidence, to the same purport and procured from the same source, might be adduced—the chief feature being that the accusation rests ultimately on the veracity of the savages referred to by Contrecour, and on the testimony of the two returned prisoners mentioned by Governor Duquesne.

On the other side, in refutation of the charge, the following evidence has been given :—

WASHINGTON wrote that he considered the frontiers of New England invaded by the French, and that a state of war existed subsequently to the attack made by them upon Ensign Ward—that he had orders (from Lieut. Governor Dinwiddie of Virginia) to repulse the French, who were the aggressors, and who had rushed to arms on perceiving him, and that then he had given orders to fire; that after a combat of fifteen minutes the French lost ten men killed, one wounded, and twenty-one prisoners, while the English had one man killed and three wounded; that it was false to say that Jumonville read any summons so as to make known his character, and that there had been no lying-in-wait for him, but simply a surprise followed by a skirmish, which was legitimate warfare.

LIEUT.-GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE declared that Washington had only done his duty in protecting the territory of His Britannic Majesty; that Jumonville's conduct was far from being that which was customary on the part of the bearer of a summons; and that, if any fault was committed in attacking him, the blame must be attributed to his own imprudence.

The apparently extraordinary act of certifying to the truth of the charge against himself, by signing those articles of capitulation, has been recorded by several credible historians, American and English (*e.g.*, Hilldreth, De Witt, Bancroft, Mante, &c.):—

HILDRETH (Hist. U. S., vol. ii. p. 442) says, "Washington did not know French. His interpreter, a Dutchman, was ignorant or treacherous; and the articles of capitulation were made to contain an express acknowledgment of the 'assassination' of Jumonville."

BANCROFT (Hist. U. S., vol. iv. p. 121, 15th edition) wrote, "At last, after thirty of the English and but three of the French had been killed, De Villiers himself, fearing his ammunition would give out, proposed a parley. The terms of capitulation which were offered were interpreted to

Washington, who did not understand French, and, as interpreted, were accepted."

MANTE, who belonged to the British engineer corps, and who was a Brigade-Major in 1764, gives the following record ("History of the Late War in North America," London 1772, p. 13) :—"This capitulation was written in French; as neither Mr Washington nor any of his officers understood that language, a foreigner was employed to read it to them. But, instead of acting the part of a faithful interpreter, when he came to the word 'assassination' (*Passassin, l'assassinat*), he translated it '*defeat*,' which I have the best authority to assert—that of the English officers present. The thing speaks for itself; for it cannot be supposed that these gentlemen should know so little of what they owed to themselves, both as men and as soldiers, as not to prefer any extremity rather than submit to the disgrace of being branded with the imputation of so horrid a crime. . . . After all, had they been really guilty, they could not have been worse used than they were; for no sooner was the capitulation signed than it was most shamefully broken by the French (and savages), who kept the English officers prisoners some time, plundered the whole of their baggage, and killed all their horses and cattle on the spot."

II.—GENERAL BRADDOCK (pp. 305–307).

Extract from the Instructions to General BRADDOCK.

"The most strict discipline, at all times requisite, is more particularly so in the service you are engaged in. Wherefore His Royal Highness (Commander-in-Chief of the British army) recommends to you that it be constantly observed among the troops under your command, and that you be particularly careful to guard against their being thrown into a panic by the savages whom the French will certainly employ against them. His Royal Highness recommends to you the visiting of your posts night and day, and that your colonels and other officers be careful to do it, ... and to give your troops plainly to understand that no excuse will be admitted for any surprise whatever. . . . It is unnecessary to put you in mind how careful you must be *to prevent being surprised.*"

Extracts from the Nova Scotia Archives (pp. 413–419).

"*Letter of an officer in the army with Colonel Dunbar.*"

"I am sorry to tell you our army, at least that part of it the General went out with, being picked men, are entirely defeated. . . . The common men behaved extremely (?) in the engagement; the officers extremely well, but to no effect; for the men were so surprised and thrown into confusion (though it 's imagined the enemy were very few), that they were obliged to run away and leave the baggage, and everything else."

Letter from Major RUTHERFORD.

"SIR,—Before you receive this, you will have heard of the most shocking blow the British troops ever received. General Braddock marched within seven miles of Fort Duquesne with 1500 men, well equipped, and a very fine train of artillery, leaving Colonel Dunbar, with whom I was, with almost half the troops behind. . . . He was attacked by not more (by the best accounts) than 300 Indians and Canadians, who entirely defeated him, with the loss of Sir Peter Halket and most of his best officers, most of his men,

and all his artillery, provisions, baggage, and ammunition; and ruined all our hopes and schemes. . . . The General dangerously wounded."

Governor DELANCEY *to* Governor PHIPPS.

"NEW YORK, *July* 27, 1755.

"SIR,—I enclose you a copy of a letter I received from Captain Robert Orme, aide-de-camp of the late General Braddock, which gives an undoubted account of the late defeat. I have also received from him a list of the officers killed and wounded, by which it appears, that besides the General, who died of his wounds, there were twenty-five officers killed, thirty-seven wounded, and twenty-two unhurt; and that, according to the most exact return that could be then gotten, there were about 600 men killed and wounded. This disaster will make the French insolent, embolden their Indians, and dishearten ours."

Extract from Captain ORME'S *Letter, referred to in the above.*

"FORT CUMBERLAND, *July* 18, 1755.

"The officers were absolutely sacrificed by their unparalleled good behaviour, advancing sometimes in bodies, and sometimes separately, hoping by such example to engage the soldiers to follow them, but to no purpose. The General had five horses killed under him, and at last received a wound through his right arm into his lungs, of which he died on the 13th inst. Mr Washington had two horses shot under him, and his clothes shot through in several places, behaving the whole time with great courage and resolution. . . . By the particular disposition of the French and Indians, it was impossible to judge of the numbers they had that day."

Extract from a French Report of the Battle of La Belle Rivier (*Pièce* 106, *vol.* 3405, *Archives du Dépôt de la Guerre*)—*Translation.*

"Next morning M. De Beaujeu marched out of the fort (Duquesne). . . . His detachment was composed of 72 regulars, 146 Canadians, and 637 savages. The encounter took place four leagues from the fort on July 9, at 1 P.M., and the action lasted till 5. M. De Beaujeu was killed. The savages, who loved him, revenged his death with bravery, and obliged the enemy to flee. This is not extraordinary, as their fashion of fighting is very different from that of our Europeans, which is of no avail in this country. The English drew up, presented a front, to what? To men concealed behind trees, who at every shot brought down one or two. Their General was killed, and we captured, &c. . . . If our savages had not *amused* themselves with plundering, not one of the enemy would have escaped. We have lost three officers, twenty-five Canadians and savages, and about as many wounded."

III.—THE ACADIANS (pp. 300–304).

Extract (*Articles XII. and XIV.*) *from the Treaty of Utrecht.*

Article 12. "The most Christian King shall cause to be delivered to the Queen of Great Britain, on the same day on which the ratifications of this treaty shall be exchanged, solemn and authentic letters or instruments,

by virtue whereof it shall appear that the island of St Christopher is to be possessed hereafter by British subjects only; likewise that all Nova Scotia or Acadie, comprehended within its ancient boundaries; as also the city of Port Royal, now called Annapolis Royal, and all other things in these parts, which depend on the said lands and islands, together with the dominion, property, and possession of the said islands, lands, and places, and all right whatever by treaties, or any other way attained, which the most Christian King, the crown of France, or any the subjects thereof, have hitherto had to the said islands, lands, and places, and to the inhabitants of the same, are yielded and made over to the Queen of Great Britain, and to her crown for ever."

Article 14. "It is expressly provided that in all the said places and colonies to be yielded and restored by the most Christian King in pursuance of this treaty, the subjects of the said King may have liberty to remove themselves, within a year, to any other place as they shall think fit, together with all their movable effects. But those who are willing to remain there, and to be subject to the kingdom of Great Britain, are to enjoy the free exercise of their religion, according to the usage of the Church of Rome, as far as the laws of Great Britain do allow the same."

Treaty signed 11th April 1713. (*31st March, Old Style.*)

Note.—For the most ample details relating to the position of the Acadians as British subjects, their claims as such, and as "*Neutrals*," their character, course of conduct, numbers, and the whole of the circumstances attendant upon their deportation in 1755—respecting which particulars much misapprehension has existed, occasioning misrepresentation and controversy—the reader is referred to the recently issued "Archives of Nova Scotia," which contain the results of the researches conducted by Dr T. B. Akins, the Nova Scotian Commissioner of Records. This valuable compilation cannot fail to be acceptable to all lovers of Canadian (and North American) history; and, while it does infinite credit to the learned commissioner in proof of his sagacity and industry, puts beyond the reach of future controversy questions of much historical importance and interest, which had been raised and acrimoniously discussed, relative to the Acadians, from 1713 down to the present day. Some extracts are subjoined. (See also Dr W. Anderson's paper entitled "The Poetry and Prose of History," published in the "Transactions of the Quebec Literary and Historical Society," Session 1869-70.)

Circular Letter from Governor LAWRENCE *to the Governors on the Continent* (*Archives of Nova Scotia*, p. 277).

"HALIFAX, *August* 11, 1755.

"SIR,—The success that has attended his Majesty's arms in driving the French from the encroachments they had made in this province, furnished me with a favourable opportunity of reducing the French inhabitants of this colony to a proper obedience to his Majesty's Government, or forcing them to quit the country. These inhabitants were permitted to remain in quiet possession of their lands, upon condition they should take the oath of allegiance to the King within one year after the Treaty of Utrecht, by which this province was ceded to Great Britain. With this condition they have ever refused to comply, without having at the same time from the Governor an assurance in writing that they should not be called upon to bear arms in the defence of the province. And with this General Philipps did comply, of which step his Majesty disapproved; and the inhabitants pretending there-

from to be in a state of neutrality between his Majesty and his enemies, have continually furnished the French and Indians with intelligence, quarters, provisions, and assistance, in annoying the Government; and while one part have abetted the French encroachments by their treachery, the other have countenanced them by open rebellion, and three hundred of them were actually found in arms in the French fort at Beausejour when it surrendered.

"Notwithstanding all their former bad behaviour, as his Majesty was pleased to allow me to extend still further his royal grace to such as would return to their duty, I offered such of them as had not been openly in arms against us a continuance of the possession of their lands, if they would take the oath of allegiance, unqualified with any reservation whatsoever; but this they have most audaciously, as well as unanimously, refused; and if they would presume to do this when there is a large fleet of ships of war in the harbour, and a considerable land force in the province, what might not we expect from them when the approaching winter deprives us of the former, and when the troops, which are only hired from New England occasionally, and for a small time, have returned home?

"As by this behaviour the inhabitants have forfeited all title to their lands and any further favour from the Government, I called together his Majesty's Council, at which the Honble. Vice-Admiral Boscawen and Rear-Admiral Mostyn assisted, to consider by what means we could, with the greatest security and effect, rid ourselves of a set of people who would for ever have been an obstruction to the intention of settling this colony, and that it was now from their refusal of the oath absolutely incumbent upon us to remove.

"As their numbers amount to near 7000 persons, the driving them off, with leave to go whither they pleased, would have doubtless strengthened Canada with so considerable a number of inhabitants; and as they have no cleared land to give them at present, such as are able to bear arms must have been immediately employed in annoying this and the neighbouring colonies. To prevent such an inconvenience, it was judged a necessary, and the only practicable measure, to divide them among the colonies where they may be of some use, as most of them are healthy strong people; and as they cannot easily collect themselves together again, it will be out of their power to do any mischief, and they may become profitable, and it is possible, in time, faithful subjects.

"As this step was indispensably necessary to the security of this colony, upon whose preservation from French encroachments the prosperity of North America is esteemed in a great measure dependent, I have not the least reason to doubt of your Excellency's concurrence, and that you will receive the inhabitants I now send, and dispose of them in such manner as may best answer our design in preventing their re-union."

Extracts from the Official Instructions given by Governor Lawrence *to the Military Officers appointed to execute the Orders for the Transportation of the Acadians* (*Archives of Nova Scotia*, pp. 271–276).

"Instructions for Lieut.-Colonel Winslow, commanding his Majesty's troops at Mines, or, in his absence, for Captain Alexander Murray, commanding his Majesty's troops at Piziquid, in relation to the transportation of the inhabitants of the districts of Mines, Piziquid, River of Canard, Cobequid, &c., out of the province of Nova Scotia.—Halifax, *August* 11, 1755.

"SIR,—Having in my letter of the 31st of July last acquainted Captain Murray with the reasons which induced his Majesty's Council to come to the resolution of sending away the French inhabitants, and clearing the whole country of such bad subjects (which letter he will communicate to you together with the instructions I have since that sent him), it only remains for me to give you the necessary orders and instructions for putting in practice what has been so solemnly determined.

"That the inhabitants may not have it in their power to return to this province, nor to join in strengthening the French of Canada or Louisbourg, it is resolved that they shall be dispersed among his Majesty's colonies upon the continent of America.

"For this purpose transports are sent up the bay to ship off those at Chignecto, and Colonel Moncton will order those he cannot fill there into Mines Basin to carry off some part of the inhabitants of these districts. You will have also from Boston vessels to transport one thousand persons, reckoning two persons to a ton. . . . Upon the arrival of these vessels in the basin of the Mines, as many of the inhabitants as can be collected by any means, particularly the heads of families, and young men, are to be shipped at the rate of two to a ton, as near as possible.

"As Captain Murray is well acquainted with the people and with the country, I would have you to consult with him upon all occasions, and particularly with relation to the means necessary for collecting the people together so as to get them on board; and if you find that fair means will not do with them, you must proceed by the most vigorous measures possible, not only in compelling them to embark, but in depriving those who shall escape of all means of shelter or support by burning their houses, and by destroying everything that may afford them the means of subsistence in the country.

"To be sent to North Carolina, 500. To be sent to Virginia, 1000. To be sent to Maryland, 500, or in proportion, if the number (*i.e.*, whole number from said districts) should be found to exceed 2000."

"INSTRUCTIONS for Major JOHN HANFIELD, commanding his Majesty's garrison of Annapolis Royal in relation to the transportation of the inhabitants of the districts of Annapolis River and the other French inhabitants out of the province of Nova Scotia.—Halifax, *August* 11, 1755.

(Same as the above to Colonel Winslow, except as respected the numbers to be transported.)

"To be sent to Philadelphia, 300. To be sent to New York, 200. To be sent to Connecticut, 300. To be sent to Boston, 200, or rather more in proportion to the province of Connecticut, should the whole number to be shipped off exceed 1000 persons."

Extracts from the Transactions of the Quebec Literary and Historical Society (Session of 1869–70, *New Series, Part VII., Paper of Dr Anderson).*

"The first census (of the Acadians, after the Treaty of Utrecht), or estimate by Colonel Vetch, in 1714, amounted to 2500 souls.

"According to Governor Hopson's census, in 1753, they had increased to 973 families, or 4865 souls.

"In 1755 . . . numbers who had been induced to emigrate to Canada, St John's, and Cap-Breton, had returned, and it is believed there were then in Acadia about 7000 souls (Raynal says 18,000).

"The archives show that *eighteen* vessels were chartered (to carry off the inhabitants), and instructed to rendezvous at convenient stations. . . . Though it was the intention of the English to deport as many as possible,

'a nation with all its household gods was not borne into exile.' . . . A good many occasions had previously occurred when the Acadians, of their own accord, or at the instance of such emissaries as *La Loutre*, had abandoned their country; . . . and we have no proof that more than 3000 were deported in the British ships."

DE LA LOUTRE (*Nova Scotia Archives*, pp. 178–180).

"Louis Joseph de la Loutre was sent to Canada by the Society of Foreign Missions at Paris in the year 1737. We find him acting as missionary to the Micmac Indians in Nova Scotia as early as 1740–41,—Governor Mascarene having addressed a letter to him in January of that year. He was a most determined enemy of British authority in Acadia, and continued to act, in conjunction with Father Germain and others, as emissary and correspondent of the French Governors at Quebec, until his departure from the country in 1755. He appears to have been constantly engaged in instigating the savages to acts of hostility against Mr Mascarene's government. In 1743–44, he headed a body of Abenaquis Indians in an attack on the fort of Annapolis Royal, 'treacherously surprising and killing all the English whom he caught without the fort, destroying their cattle, and burning their houses,' until prevented by the arrival of a reinforcement to the relief of the garrison."—*Mascarene's Letter to the Secretary of State.*

"In March 1746, by means of his Indians, he intercepted the letters of the Governor of Louisbourg to Governor Mascarene at Annapolis, and sent them to Quebec; and, in July following, he assisted the officers of a French frigate, then on the coast of Acadia, in the capture of several small vessels laden with supplies and provisions for the British forces. The same summer he devised a plan for laying siege to Annapolis Royal, and we find him conferring with De Ramezay and others on that subject.

"He held the office of Vicar-General of Acadia, under the Bishop of Quebec, a copy of whose letter, remonstrating with him on his departure from his sacred functions, is still extant. He at length became so obnoxious to the British authorities, that a reward of £100 was offered by Governor Cornwallis for his head."—*Letters to Board of Trade.*

"In an article in the Collections of the Historical Society of Quebec it is stated:—'Pride and vanity were his predominant failings. After ruining the Acadian French by his unwise counsels, he abandoned them in the moment of their distress. For fear of falling into the hands of the British, he left Fort Beausejour in disguise, before it surrendered to Monckton—crossed to the river St John, and went thence to Quebec, where, instead of a welcome, he received bitter reproaches from his bishop.' He embarked for France the following August; but on the passage the ship was captured by the British, and the Abbe de la Loutre was taken prisoner, and sent to Elizabeth Castle, in Jersey, where he remained eight years in confinement. He returned to France at the conclusion of the peace in 1763, and probably died in obscurity, as nothing further is known of him."—*Proceedings of the Hist. Society of Quebec; Knox's Journal*, vol. i. p. 144, *quoted by Dr O'Callaghan in his Notes to the N. Y. Col. Doc.*

IV.—GAMBLING AT QUEBEC AND MONTREAL (p. 332.)

Extract from Bishop PONTBRIAND'S *Mandate to the Clergy and People, dated at Quebec, April* 18, 1759.

"And what may still create further fear in us are the profane diversions to which we are addicted with greater attachment than ever, *the insufferable*

excesses of the games of chance, the various crimes against heaven that have been multiplied in the course of this winter. . . . Eighteen years have now elapsed since the Lord called us to watch over this extensive diocese. We have frequently seen you suffer by famine, by diseases, and by almost continual war; nevertheless, this year appears to us in all respects the most afflictive and deplorable."

V.—GENERAL AMHERST, COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF (p. 332).

(*Extracted from the Archives of Nova Scotia, footnote*, p. 444.)

"Sir Jeffery Amherst, afterwards Lord Amherst, was the son of a country gentleman of the county of Kent, England. Born in the year 1717, he entered the army at the early age of fourteen. He was aide-de-camp to Lord Ligonier, and distinguished himself at the battles of Roucoux, Dettingen, and Fontenoy, under that General, and afterwards at the battles of Laffeldt and Hastenbeck, on the staff of the Duke of Cumberland. In 1758 he attained the rank of Major-General, and on the recall of Lord Loudon was appointed to the command of the army in America. His first enterprise on this continent was the expedition against Louisbourg. In May 1758 he arrived at Halifax with the army and fleet destined for the attack. They sailed from Halifax, May 28, and Louisbourg surrendered on the 26th July following. Wolfe and Lawrence served under him at the siege, while Boscawen was the commander of the naval force. For this important service he received the thanks of the House of Commons and the sinecure office of Governor of Virginia (the government of that province being then administered by a resident Lieut.-Governor). In the following November, he planned and accomplished the capture of Fort Duquesne, one of the keys of Canada; and the following season, the reduction of Niagara, under General Johnson. On the 26th July 1759, the day after the taking of Niagara, Ticonderoga surrendered to his forces, and on the 14th of the following month, the strong post of Crown Point, on Lake Champlain. These victories were followed by the memorable fall of Quebec. On the 8th September 1760, he signed the capitulation of Montreal, and was appointed Governor-General of Canada. On this occasion he was made a Knight of the Bath, a Lieut.-General, and a member of his Majesty's Privy Council.

"Sir Jeffery Amherst returned to England in 1763, on the conclusion of the peace. A misunderstanding, some years after, arose between him and the Ministry of the day on the subject of American affairs, and several favours were refused him. He had obtained the government of Virginia as a reward for his military services; it had been given him on the distinct understanding that he should not be required to reside in that province; indeed his military avocations for some time altogether precluded him from residing there; yet in 1768 he was superseded in his government by Lord Bottetourt, a court favourite, on the ground that it was necessary the Governor should reside in his province. He pleaded in vain the terms upon which he accepted the appointment, and that it had been conferred upon him as a reward for his military services in the conquest of Canada, instead of a pension. Being deprived of his office, he made application for a grant of certain Jesuit estates in Canada, as a compensation for his loss of the Virginia government, but his request was refused. His claims during his lifetime were never fairly treated; they were, however, compromised many years after his death by an annuity to his successor in the title.

"He was raised to the peerage, as Baron Amherst of Montreal, in May 1776, but having no family, he afterwards obtained a new patent with limita-

tion to the heirs-male of his brother, Sir William. He finally rose to be a full General and Commander-in-Chief of the British army, His last public service was the means he adopted in quelling the riots in London in the year 1780. He died at his seat, Montreal, in Kent, in August 1797, in the 81st year of his age."—*Chalmer's Biographical Dictionary; Army List; N. Y. Colonial Documents*, vol. vii. 584.

VI.—CAMPAIGN OF 1759 (pp. 358–361).

Extract from Letter of General AMHERST *to* Governor LAWRENCE (*Archives of Nova Scotia*, p. 442).

"NEW YORK, *March ye 16th*, 1759.

"DEAR SIR,—I have received his Majesty's orders for sending a number of his forces in North America (as you will see by the enclosed list) to rendezvous at Cape Breton as near as may be about the 20th of April, which forces are intended for an expedition against Quebec under the direction of Brigadier-General Wolfe, whom the King has appointed for that service, and he is to have the rank of Major-General for the expedition only.

"You will please to order that the forces under your command in Nova Scotia do immediately prepare to embark as soon as the transports arrive at Halifax, for which purpose I have directed that 6000 tons of transports shall be hired at Boston, this place, and Philadelphia, for fear that those which are ordered from England may not arrive in due time, and that no delays or disappointments may happen from their late arrival, or from any accidents that may render them unfit for immediate service.

"Twenty thousand tons of transport vessels were preparing in England to be sent to this place, but though they are ordered here, some may very probably drop into Halifax harbour, in which case you will be so good to order them to remain there, at least as many as will be sufficient for receiving the garrison of Halifax, allowing a ton and a half to each man.

"If more transports arrive at Halifax than will be sufficient for the embarkation of the garrison, pray send some directly to Boston, as the 3000 tons I have ordered to be taken up there, with forty schooners intended for the service up the river St Lawrence, will not be enough for the artillery, Webb's regiment, and the Provincials.

"The packet-boat arrived the 14th instant at night. I immediately ordered Fraser's regiment to march, for that regiment is now the most unluckily situated of any on the continent, being at Fort Stanwix and the Mohawk river, and it will take up some time to get it down to this place.

"The 3000 tons of transports I take up at this place and Philadelphia will serve for Lascelles' and Fraser's regiments, which will sail directly from hence for Louisbourg.

"I have wrote to Governor Pownall for 1500 Provincials to join the 500 that will be detached from Monckton's and Lawrence's battalions for the protection of Halifax, Nova Scotia, and the Bay of Fundy. . . .

"As it may happen that some part of the troops may not arrive at Halifax so soon as the others are ready, it is the King's pleasure that the whole of this important service should not wait, but that the forces should be sent to be at the rendezvous at Louisbourg by the time afore-mentioned, and the remaining part to be sent with all expedition as soon after as possible."

Extract from a Confidential Letter (in cypher) from General MONTCALM *to the French Minister of War, dated April* 12, 1759.

"Québec, l'ennemi peut venir si nous n'avons point d'escadre; et Québec pris, la colonie est perdue; cependant nulle précaution. J'ai écrit, . . . j'ai fait offre de mettre de l'ordre [de prendre] une disposition pour empêcher une fausse manœuvre à la première alarme; la réponse: 'Nous aurons le temps.' Je ne sais rien des projets de M. de Vaudreuil; encore moins ce qu'il pourra mettre en campagne de Canadiens, comme nous sommes en vivres et en munitions. Le public m'apprend que nous sommes mal sur l'un et l'autre article, et ce public croit toujours la partie des vivres mal gouvernée. Je devrois m'estimer heureux dans les circonstances de n'être pas consulté; mais, dévoué au service de S. M., j'ai donné mes avis par écrit pour le mieux, et nous agitons avec courage et zèle, M. le chevalier de Lévis, M. de Bourlamaque et moi pour retarder la perte prochaine du Canada. . . . . .

"Si la guerre dure, le Canada sera aux Anglois peut-être dès cette campagne ou la prochaine. Si la paix arrive, colonie perdue, si tout le gouvernement n'est pas changé.

"On a enfin fini le recensement général du Canada. Quoique l'on ne me l'ait pas communiqué, je crois être sûr qu'il n'y a pas plus de 82,000 âmes, sur quoi au plus 12,000 hommes en état de combattre; et sur ce nombre, ôtant ce qui est employé aux travaux, transports, bateaux, dans les Pays d'en haut, on ne réunira jamais plus de 1000 Canadiens; et si, faut-il que ce ne soit pas dans le temps des semences ou des récoltes; autrement, en faisant tout marcher, les terres seroient incultes, la famine s'ensuivroit. Nos huit bataillons feront 3200 hommes; de la colonie, au plus 1500 hommes à mettre campagne.—Qu'est-ce contre au moins 30,000 qu'ont les Anglois?"

Extract from a Letter of General AMHERST *to* Governor LAWRENCE, *dated Albany, May* 29, 1759 (*Archives of Nova Scotia*, p. 449).

"SIR,— . . . I did not intend to write to you from this place on this day. I expected to have been advanced farther. I however hope I shall be soon enough, and I really believe, though my batteau men and team-drivers have failed me, and that I have made a large detachment, I yet shall have men enough to carry on the operations of the campaign with success. I shall do the most I can towards it. I shall try to disappoint, confuse, and beat the enemy. Appearances look well in every corner, and I hope this campaign will effectually do the business. It would not have a little added to the part I am to share to have had you with me; but as the good of his Majesty's service in other parts has not permitted it, I must submit to it. That health and happiness may attend you, are the sincere wishes of him who is, with the greatest regard and esteem, dear sir, your most humble and most obedient servant,

"JEFF. AMHERST.

"*Brigr.-General Lawrence.*"

Letters of General AMHERST *to* Governor LAWRENCE, *dated at Ticonderoga and Crown Point, July* 27 *and August* 8, 1759 (*Archives of Nova Scotia*, pp. 451, 452).

"CAMP AT TIENDEROGA, *July* 27, 1759.

"SIR,—On Saturday morning last I embarked with the army at Lake George. The next day landed without opposition, and proceeded to the Saw

Mills, and took post on the commanding grounds, meeting only a trifling opposition from the enemy. We lay on our arms all night, and early on the 23d we continued our march to this ground, which I took possession of in the forenoon, the enemy having abandoned the lines without destroying them, first having carried off their effects, as well as sent away the greatest part of their troops. As soon as I was set down before the place, and after having reconnoitred it, I ordered the trenches to be opened, and batteries to be made, which were finished last night, and were to have opened at break of day, but the enemy did not think proper to wait till then, having, about ten of the clock yesterday evening, blown up a part of the fort, and made their escape, all to about twenty deserters. Our loss, considering the fire we sustained, is inconsiderable. We have only two officers killed, viz., Colonel Townsend, Dep.-Adjutant-General, and Ensign Harrison of late Forbes's.

"I take the earliest opportunity of acquainting you of this, and of assuring you that I am, with great regard, sir, your most obedient humble servant,

"JEFF. AMHERST.

"*His Excellency Governor Lawrence.*"

"CAMP AT CROWN POINT, *August* 8, 1759.

"SIR,—On the 27th ultimo I had the pleasure of communicating to you that the enemy had, on the evening before, abandoned the fort at Tienderoga, to which I have now the further satisfaction to add, that they have likewise withdrawn themselves from this place, after having also attempted to blow up the fort, in which they have succeeded only in part, and that I am in possion of the ground ever since the 4th, where I propose building such a stronghold as shall most effectually cover and secure all this country.

"The night of my arrival here I received letters from Sir William Johnson, with the additional good news of the success of his Majesty's arms at Niagara, which surrendered, by capitulation, on the 25th to Sir William Johnson, upon whom the command had devolved by the demise of poor Brigadier-General Prideaux, killed in the trenches on the night of the 20th. The garrison, consisting of 607 men, being prisoners of war, and now on their march to New York, together with 17 officers and 160 men more, part of a corps of 1200 assembled at Detroit, Venango, and Presqu 'Isle, under the command of Messrs Aubry and Deliguery, for raising the siege; but Sir William Johnson having intelligence of their approach, provided so properly for their reception, that on the morning of the 24th, when they meant to march straight to the fort, they met with such an opposition as they little expected, being entirely routed, with the loss of all their officers, and a great number of their men killed, whilst the loss on our side is inconsiderable.

"This signal success, added to the other advantages, seems an happy presage of the entire reduction of Canada this campaign, or at least of circumscribing the enemy within such narrow bounds as will ever after deprive them of the power of exercising any more encroachments, on which I hope I shall have the satisfaction of congratulating you, as I now do on these late great events, and am, with great regard, sir, your most obedient humble servant,

"JEFF. AMHERST.

"*His Excellency Governor Lawrence.*"

Extract from General AMHERST'S *Letter to* Governor LAWRENCE, *dated Crown Point, November* 21, 1759 (*Archives of Nova Scotia*, p. 467).

"I have almost finished everything here for this campaign, and I hope to leave this frontier in such a state for defence that it shall not be practicable for the enemy to succeed in any attempts, if they should venture to make any."

VII.—STATEMENT OF THE NAVAL AND LAND FORCES EMPLOYED IN THE EXPEDITION AGAINST QUEBEC IN 1759. (Compiled from the best authorities.)

Naval Forces—Commanded by Admirals Saunders, Durell, and Holmes.

20 Ships of the line.
8 Frigates.
2 Fifty-gun ships.
19 Sloops, &c.

Total, 49 War vessels.

Land Forces—Commanded by Major-General James Wolfe.

BRIGADES.	REGIMENTS.	COMMANDERS.	STRENGTH.
1st, or Brig.-Gen. Monckton's,	15th (Amherst's),	Maj. Irvine,	500
	43d (Kennedy's),	Col. James,	650
	78th and 63d (Fraser's),	Col. Fraser,	1100
	48th (Webb's),	Col. Burton,	800
2d, or Brig.-Gen. Townshend's,	28th (Bragg's),	Col. Walsh,	550
	48th (Lascelles'),	Col. Hale,	500
	60th (2d Batt. Royal Americans),	Maj. Prevost,	400
3d, or Brig.-Gen. Murray's,	35th (Otway's),	Col. Fletcher,	800
	58th (Anstruther's),	Maj. Agnew,	500
	60th (3d Batt. Royal Americans),	Col. Young,	600
	Louisbourg Grenadiers (of 22d, 40th, and 45th),	Col. Carlton,	300
	Light Infantry,	Col. Howe and Maj. Dalling,	200
	Rangers,	Maj. Scott,	400
	Royal Artillery,		300
	Royal Marines,		1000
		Total strength,	8600

Copy of Wolfe's Last General Orders.

"ON BOARD THE 'SUTHERLAND,' *September* 12, 1759.

"The enemy's force is now divided; great scarcity of provisions in their camp, and universal discontent among the Canadians. The second officer in command (Levi) is gone to Montreal or St John's, which gives reason to think that General Amherst is advancing into the colony. A vigorous blow struck by the army at this juncture may determine the fall of Canada. Our troops below are in readiness to join us. All the Light Artillery and tools are embarked at the Point of Levy, and the troops will land where the French seem least to expect them.

"The first body that gets on shore is to march directly to the enemy, and drive them from any little post they may occupy. The officers must be careful that the succeeding bodies do not, by any mistake, fire upon those that go on before them.

"The battalions must form upon the upper ground with expedition, and be ready to charge whatever presents itself.

"When the artillery and troops are landed, a corps will be left to secure the landing-place, while the rest march on and endeavour to bring the French and Canadians to a battle.

"The officers and men will remember what their country expects from them, and what a determined body of soldiers inured to war are capable of doing, against five weak French battalions, mingled with a disorderly peasantry.

"The soldiers must be attentive and obedient to their officers, and resolute in the execution of their duty."

Strength of the British Army at the Battle of September 13, 1759.

REGIMENTS.	OFFICERS AND STAFF.	RANK AND FILE.	TOTAL.
15th,	27	379	406
43d,	19	308	327
78th,	27	645	672
48th,	31	652	683
28th,	25	396	421
47th,	22	338	360
60th, 2d Batt.	15	307	322
35th,	29	490	519
58th,	19	316	335
60th,	24	516	540
Grenadiers, Rangers, and Light Infantry,	12	229	241
Totals,	250	4576	4826

A Return of the Killed and Wounded of the Army under the command of General Wolfe, at the Battle of the Plains of Abraham, September 13, 1759.

REGIMENTS.	KILLED. *						WOUNDED. †									
	Captains.	Lieutenants.	Ensigns.	Sergeants.	Rank and File.	Gunners.	Captains.	Lieutenants.	Ensigns.	Sergeants.	Drummers.	Rank and File.	Bombardiers.	Gunners.	Matrosses.	Total.
	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	5	8
15th,	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	4	...	5	...	52	...	...	...	63
28th,	...	1	...	1	3	...	3	1	1	4	1	39	...	...	...	54
35th,	...	1	...	...	6	...	2	4	...	1	...	28	...	...	...	42
43d,	...	...	...	...	3	...	...	...	1	2	...	18	...	...	...	24
47th,	...	1	...	...	1	...	2	4	2	1	...	26	...	...	...	37
48th,	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	...	...	...	3
58th,	...	...	1	1	8	...	2	1	1	3	...	80	...	...	...	97
60th, 2d Batt.,	...	...	...	...	5	...	1	3	2	2	1	80	...	...	...	94
60th. 3d Batt.,	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	2
Highlanders,	1	2	...	1	14	...	2	5	3	7	...	131	...	...	...	166
Grenadiers,	...	1	...	...	3	...	1	4	...	...	...	47	...	...	...	56
															Total,	656

* General Wolfe, killed. † Brigadier Monckton, Colonel Carlton, Major Barry, Major Spittle, wounded.

Statement of the French and Canadian Forces in the Campaign of 1759 (Serving in and near Quebec).

		STRENGTH.
Quebec Brigade, regulars and militia, . .	M. St. Ours, .	3500
Three Rivers Brigade, ...	M. De Bonne, .	900
Corps, all regulars, ...	M. Senezergues, .	2000
Montreal Brigade—militia, ...	M. Prudhomme, .	1100
Brigade of Island of Montreal, . . .	M. Herbin, . .	2300
Cavalry—chiefly regulars, ...	. .	350
Light Troops—Canadians and Acadians, ...	.	1400
Indians, exclusive of scouts, scalping-parties, &c., ...	.	450
	Total,	12,000

Note.—The number of the French present in the battle of 13th September has been variously stated at from 3500 to 7500 men. It is impossible to procure reliable returns. British officers, judging from their appearance, and the way they were drawn up, estimated their numbers to be more than one-third greater than those of the British. The French accounts, except perhaps that of Bigot, leave us to infer that their forces were less numerous than the British.

Extract from KNOX'S *Journal*, vol. ii. p. 72.

"*September* 13, 1759.—There is one thing very remarkable, and which I can affirm from my own personal knowledge,—that the enemy were extremely apprehensive of being rigorously treated; for, conscious of their inhuman behaviour to our troops upon a former occasion, the officers who fell into our hands most piteously (with hats off) sued for quarter repeatedly, declaring they were not at Fort William Henry (called by them *Fort St George*) in the year 1757."

Extracts from a Journal entitled "A Short Account of the Expedition against Quebec, &c., by an Engineer upon that Expedition, from a Manuscript Copy in the Royal Engineer Office, Quebec."

[*Note.*—This journal has marked on it the initials P. M., and has been ascribed to the pen of *Major Moncrief*. It is dated September 1759, and is accompanied by a large plan of the campaign.]

"*May* 31.—Arrived Brigadier Monckton with four battalions from Halifax and two from the Bay of Fundy; whole force now assembled (at Louisbourg) being ten battalions, three companies of grenadiers of the Louisbourg garrison, a detachment of artillery, and five companies of rangers—in all, 8535 men, fit for duty, including officers."

"*June* 27.—Troops landed from the ships in the south channel of Island of Orleans. General Wolfe went to the end of the island to view the enemy's encampment. Coast fortified all along, there being also floating batteries, launches, &c. No judgment could be formed with certainty of their strength, but we had good intelligence they were 15,000 to 16,000 men."

"*September* 4.—Dispatches from Amherst confirming former news (relating to capture of Niagara, Crown Point, &c.)"

"*September* 13.—General Wolfe fell mortally wounded when the affair was almost come to a crisis. We had more killed and wounded by the skirmishers than in the general action. Brigadier Monckton and Colonel Carl-

ton wounded (*the latter badly*), and carried off before the general charge. Whole loss: killed, 158; wounded, 597; total, 755. Enemy's loss: Montcalm mortally wounded; Brigadier Senezergues killed; 200 officers and men dead on the field; 13 officers and 330 men taken prisoners; 1000 to 1200 wounded; total, from 1550 to 1750. Soon after the action the enemy attempted to retake the Samos battery, but were repulsed with loss. Between twelve and one o'clock, Bougainville's command appeared in rear of our left on the St Foie Road. The party attacking Samos battery had been detached from his corps on its march. He withdrew on learning that the main action was lost, and on seeing some of our battalions and artillery moving towards him."

"*September* 18.—Our whole loss in the campaign: killed, 18 officers and 252 non-commissioned officers and men; wounded, 107 officers, 252 non-commissioned officers and men; total, 1493.

"General Monckton, being a good deal recovered of his wound, resumed command. . . . Thought doubtful whether to demolish and abandon the place or keep it. Doubts, however, soon vanished. Brigadier Murray appointed Governor, and Colonel Burton Lieutenant-Governor, with such staff and other officers as were necessary."

VIII.—THE STRENGTH OF GENERAL MURRAY'S GARRISON AT QUEBEC.

On the departure of the fleet, October 26, 1759:—

Officers—1 general, 6 colonels, 7 majors, 51 captains, 226 lieutenants and engineers,	291
Non-comissioned—343 sergeants, 178 drummers, 22 fifers,	543
Rank and file,	6430
Non-combatants—5 chaplains, 25 surgeons, 20 adjutants and quartermasters,	50
Do. Women,	569
Total in garrison,	7883

On February 28, 1760, *when much sickness prevailed*:—

Total number fit for duty (rank and file),	4817

On April 24, 1760, *four days before the great battle and siege*:—

Regiments,	15th	28th	35th	43d	47th	48th	58th	2d Bat. 60th	3d Bat. 60th	Highlanders.	Artillery, &c.
Total, . . .	432	504	640	466	475	697	482	400	468	894	194
Sick, . . .	109	200	285	194	170	214	158	163	215	580	24
Fit for duty,	323	304	355	272	305	483	324	237	253	314	171

Summary.

Total officers and men,	5653
,, Sick,	2312
,, Fit for duty,	3341

IX.—TREATMENT OF THE INHABITANTS, ACCORDING TO THE ARTICLES OF CAPITULATION, WITH RESPECT TO PERSONS, PROPERTY, AND RELIGION.

[*Note.*—In addition to what is stated in the text of this history, the general orders issued from time to time, and the entries recorded in the journals of General Murray and Captain Knox, enable the reader to form a correct opinion with respect to the points now under consideration. A few extracts are subjoined.]

Extracts from Standing General Orders.

"*September* 18.—The capital of Canada having surrendered to his Britannic Majesty's arms, . . . all acts of violence, pillage, or cruelty are strictly forbidden. . . . It is the highest offence against the King's service to infringe an order, which, by the Articles of War, is death. After this warning no person can expect mercy upon conviction before a court-martial. This order to be read at the head of every company."

"*September* 21.—The outposts are to take up all stragglers and marauders. They are also to take care that no insult is shown to any of the inhabitants. The General (Monckton) again assures the army that all plundering will be punished with death."

"*November* 4, 1759.—The French inhabitants of Quebec by the capitulation being entitled to the possession of their effects, and his Majesty's proclamation for the free exercise of their religion, it is determined to punish all robbing and plundering, or insult offered to their persons, in an exemplary manner; and when any of their processions are made in the public streets, it is ordered *that the officers pay them the compliment of the hat, because it is a civility due to the people who have chosen to live under the protection of our laws. Should this piece of ceremony be repugnant to the consciences of any, they must retire when the procession approaches.*"

Note.—The italics copied from original.

The Bishop wrote, November 10, 1759.

"I have not paid my respects to you in consequence of bad health; but as soon as I am able to return to Quebec, I will endeavour to live as the Bishop of a diocese surrendered to his Britannic Majesty should do."

Extracts from General MURRAY'S *Journal.*

[*Note.*—This diary has already been referred to in a footnote. It is at this time (October 1871) in course of publication by the Quebec Literary and Historical Society. The extracts here given are cited chiefly to illustrate the General's dealings with the inhabitants.]

"*September* 21, 1759.—Settled the form of an oath of allegiance to be taken by the inhabitants to the King of Great Britain; and it was accordingly administered to the companies of militia which had been doing duty in the town, who, after performing this, and delivering up their arms, had liberty to depart to their respective homes; the same method was continued, and the names registered. This night it was resolved, in a council of war, consisting of the Admiral and Generals, that we should keep possession of Quebec, and I should remain with the command.

"*October* 18.—As from the beginning orders had been given that no French inhabitant should take anything out of town without a passport from me, in order to prevent their carrying out what might be useful to the French army, it was now allowed them to carry out any kind of provisions, which they might have bartered for with officers or soldiers. This day, Admiral Saunders, with the greatest part of the fleet, sailed for Britain, having first laid ashore the *Porcupine* and *Racehorse* sloops-of-war, the only naval force that was left here, besides three small sloops and schooners.

"*November* 7.—As I had sent the sick into the nunneries, being large and convenient buildings, where they were used to take care of the sick, I had now an application made to me from the General Hospital for wood, it being impossible for that house to procure the quantity it required. I therefore ordered three of the neighbouring parishes to furnish fifty cords each for that purpose, to be paid by the King.

"*November* 12.—Hitherto the necessity of covering the troops and preparing for the winter kept us quiet; but this being pretty well effected, and the enemy having had the impudence to come and carry off cattle from the neighbourhood of the town, to prevent these incursions for the future, and any surprise during the winter, I thought proper to march a strong detachment out, which, after reconnoitering the country myself, I took post in the churches of St Foix and Lorette to command all the avenues to Quebec, so that no considerable body could march to it without first forcing these two posts; and for this purpose I fortified them in such manner as to resist any attack without cannon to support it. At the same time I published a manifesto, warning the inhabitants of drawing upon themselves fresh misfortunes, if they did not keep themselves quiet, and representing to them how little they could expect from a beaten, dispirited army, which had already abandoned them. At the same time I published fresh regulations for the inhabitants, permitting them to take out everything they pleased, except provisions, leather, soap, and candles, commodities very scarce in the garrison; also, established a civil jurisdiction for the inhabitants, and appointed Colonel Young chief judge, taking into the other offices some of the men of the best character that I could find in the place.

"*November* 14.—As drunkenness and theft continued to reign predominant vices in the garrison, highly prejudicial to the service, I recalled all licenses, and ordered for the future every man who was found drunk to receive twenty lashes every morning till he acknowledged where he got it, and forfeit his allowance of rum for six weeks. As I found no place so proper as the Jesuits' College to lodge the provisions, that the Fathers are but few in number, and the Society being in general remarkable for intrigue, I acquainted them of the necessity I was under to take possession of the whole building, and gave them leave to depart when they pleased.

"*January* 11.—Took up two men who arrived but the day before from Montreal, though they both at first denied any intention to return, yet at length one of them, who had letters directed for that place, confessed they were going back; and from some letters intercepted, had great reason to imagine they were come to hire artificers. After being examined by some of my principal officers, ordered them to be closely confined.

"*January* 12.—Published an order this day, forbidding, on pain of death, any one to send up or receive letters from Montreal without first showing them. Forbid also anything to be carried out without a passport.

"*January* 16.—It was reported to me that several shot had been stolen off the batteries; and it was remarkable that it was especially those which fitted the French guns.

"*January* 18.—Having received information that one of the Frenchmen I had given a civil employment to held correspondence with the enemy, and having no positive proof, banished him to the Island of Orleans.

"*January* 19.—Being informed that the boatmen of Point Levi had passed over French soldiers in disguise, ordered for the future they should, as soon as arrived, come and make a declaration of the people and goods they passed over, on pain of being severely punished.

"*January* 29.—Soldiers had found out a method of getting strong liquors from inhabitants, who still had liberty to sell to their own people. I forbid to retail any, either in the town or suburbs.

"*February* 14.—Ordered captains of militia of south parishes to come in, that I might be informed of the proceedings of the French commanders (*relative to their requisitions for supplies, &c.*)

"*February* 16.—Several came in, and informed, &c.

"*February* 17.—Received intelligence that the captains of militia had made false reports.

"*February* 22.—Captains of militia not having given true reports, I sent more pressing orders.

"*February* 26.—Informed that a French detachment had concealed itself in houses within six miles of our posts without any of the inhabitants giving the least notice. I had their houses burnt, . . . and published my reasons for so doing.

"*March* 2.— . . . In view of fortifying the heights of Abraham, ordered detachment to cut fascines and pickets. . . . Sent orders to parishes for 10,000 fascines and 40,000 pickets to be ready.

"*March* 7.—Sickness (manifestly *scurvy*) spreading in spite of all efforts to prevent it. Impossible to procure fresh provisions.

"*March* 24.—Sickness continuing, obliged to raise blankets among the country people on promise to return or pay on arrival of the shipping.

"*April* 21.—Garrison very sickly. . . . Ordered all the people to depart from the town, giving them three days to remove their effects, and to leave what they pleased at the Recollets in care of that community, and promised a guard of soldiers. Two substantial inhabitants to take charge of things. . . . I allowed the inmates of the two nunneries to remain, as they were very useful in caring for our sick.

"*April* 26.—Having given the people sufficient time to withdraw their effects, I ordered *the gates to be shut.*"

Captain KNOX'S *Journal.*

"*November* 14.—A court-martial (colonel, six captains, and six lieutenants) sentenced a delinquent soldier to death for robbery on the house of a French inhabitant. The Governor approved, and ordered his immediate execution.

"*November* 18.—A Frenchman hanged for enticing soldiers to desert.

"*November* 29.—Two women whipped through the streets for selling liquor contrary to orders, and a Frenchman the same."

X.—EXTRACT FROM A CIRCULAR ISSUED BY GOVERNOR DE VAUDREUIL, AND SENT TO THE CAPTAINS OF MILITIA IN ALL THE PARISHES IN THE FALL OF 1759.

"His most Christian Majesty has sunk, burned, and destroyed the greatest fleet that ever England put to sea, and has made an entire conquest of Ireland, and put to the sword all the troops and natives who were in arms; so that the next ships will certainly bring us an account of a peace being concluded; Quebec will be restored, and Canada once more made to flourish under a French government."

XI.—NARRATIVES OF THE BATTLE OF STE FOYE, APRIL 28, 1760.

[*Note.*—Although numerous narratives of this battle have been given, in addition to Murray's, as furnished in the text, and which may be regarded as official, it may be remarked that the French official statements on the subject are very meagre. The following are inserted here to supplement General Murray's.]

Extract from Colonel MALCOLM FRASER'S (*a Lieutenant present in the action*) *Narrative.*

"On April 28, 1760, about eight o'clock in the morning, the whole garrison, exclusive of the guards, was drawn up on the parade, and about nine (six) o'clock we marched out of town with twenty pieces of field artillery—that is, two to each regiment. The men were likewise ordered to carry a pickaxe or spade each. When we had marched a little way out of town, we saw the advanced parties of the enemy nigh the woods, about half a league distant from us. When we were about three-quarters of a mile out of town, the General ordered the whole to draw up in line of battle, two deep, and take up as much room as possible. Soon thereafter, he ordered the men to throw down the intrenching tools, and the whole army to advance slowly, dressing by the right. . . . Our loss was about 300 killed, and about 700 wounded, and a few officers and men made prisoners. We had about 3000 in the field, one-third of whom had that very day come voluntarily out of the hospitals; of these, about 500 were employed in dragging the cannon, and 500 more in reserve, so that we could have no more than 2000 in the line of battle, whereas the enemy must have had at least four times as many, beside a large body in reserve; and notwithstanding their great superiority we suffered very little in the retreat. Some regiments attempted to rally, but it was impossible to form in any sort of order with the whole till we got within the walls.

"When we marched out, we thought the General did not intend to give the French battle; and as he ordered the army to carry out intrenching tools, we thought he meant to throw up works on the rising ground before the town, if the enemy should not choose to attack him that day; but it seems he changed his mind on seeing their situation, which gave him all the advantage he could desire with such an inferior army. The bait was too tempting, and his passion for glory getting the better of his reason, he ordered the army to march and attack the enemy.

"It appears they allowed the savages to scalp all the dead and most part of the wounded, as we found a great many scalps on the bushes.

"I have been since informed by Lieutenant M'Gregor, of our regiment, who was left on the field wounded, and narrowly escaped being killed, having received two stabs of a bayonet from two French regulars, that he saw the savages murdering the wounded and scalping them on all sides, and expected every moment to share the same fate, but was saved by a French officer, who luckily spoke a little English."

Account of the Battle of Ste Foye from a French source.

[*Note*—The following is understood to have been written by a Scotch Jacobite officer or refugee, then serving against Great Britain with the French army in Canada.]

"The English army had the advantage of position. They were drawn up in battle upon rising ground, their front armed with twenty-two brass field-

pieces—the Palace battery, which De Ramsay refused to send to M. de Montcalm. The engagement began by the attack of a house (Dumont's) between the right wing of the English army and the French left wing, which was alternately attacked and defended by the Scotch Highlanders and by the French Grenadiers, each of them taking it and losing it by turns. Worthy antagonists!—the Grenadiers, with their bayonets in their hands, forced the Highlanders to go out of it by the windows; and the Highlanders getting into it again by the door, immediately obliged the Grenadiers to evacuate it by the same road, with their daggers. Both of them lost and retook the house several times, and the contest would have continued whilst there remained a Highlander and a Grenadier, if both Generals had not made them retire, leaving the house neuter ground. The Grenadiers were reduced to fourteen men—a company at most. No doubt the Highlanders lost in proportion. The left of the French army, which was in hollow ground, about forty paces from the English, was crushed to pieces by the fire of their artillery loaded with grapeshot. M. De Levis, perceiving their bad position, sent M. De Lapause, Adjutant of the Guienne Regiment, with orders for the army to retire some steps behind them, in order to occupy an eminence parallel to the rising ground occupied by the English; but whether this officer did not comprehend M. De Levis' intentions, or whether he delivered ill the orders to the different regiments, by his stupidity the battle was very near being lost irremediably. He ran along the line, ordering each regiment to the right about, and to retire, without any further explanation of M. De Levis' orders. Some of the left of the French army being so near as twenty paces to the enemy, the best-disciplined troops in that case can scarce be expected to be able to retire without the greatest disorder and confusion, or without exposing themselves evidently to be defeated and slaughtered. Upon this movement, the English, believing them in flight, quitted their advantage of the rising ground in order to pursue them, complete their disorder, and break them entirely. M. Dalquier, who commanded the Bearn Regiment, with the troops of the colony upon the left of the French army, a bold, intrepid old officer, turned about to his soldiers when Lapause gave him M. De Levis' order to retire, and told them, 'It is not time now, my boys, to retire when at twenty paces from the enemy; with your bayonets upon your muskets, let us throw ourselves headlong amongst them—that is better.' In an instant they fell upon the English impetuously—with thrusts of bayonets hand to hand, got possession, like lightning, of their guns; and a ball which went through Dalquier's body, which was already quite covered with scars of old wounds, did not hinder him from continuing giving his orders. Poularies, who was upon the right flank of the army, with his regiment of Royal Roussillon, and some of the Canadian militia, seeing Dalquier stand firm, and all the troops of the centre having retired in disorder, leaving a space between the two wings, he caused his regiment with the Canadians to wheel to the left, in order to fall upon the left flank of the English army, the French army extending further to the right beyond the English left wing. The enemy no sooner perceived Poularies' movement, than they immediately fled with precipitation and confusion, and were so panic-stricken that not an English soldier could be rallied by their officers, several of who n were taken prisoners.

"The French had about two thousand killed and wounded in this battle of the 27th (? 28th) of April, of which number there was an hundred and ten officers of the regular troops, besides a great many officers of the Canadian militia: so they might say with Pyrrhus, the day of his victory over the Romans—'Again such another victory, and I would be undone!'"

XII.—GOVERNOR DE VAUDREUIL'S CIRCULAR ADDRESSED TO THE CAPTAINS OF THE CANADIAN MILITIA AFTER THE PRECIPITATE RETREAT OF DE LEVIS FROM QUEBEC.

[*Note.*—The parts italicised are those which De Vaudreuil is supposed to have known were false statements, but to which, in his despair of the cause of France in Canada, he had recourse in order to put a stop to the general desertion which was taking place.]

"MONTREAL, *June* 3, 1760.

"SIR,—The Chev. de Levis is just returned to this town; he has repeated to me the strong testimony he had before given me of the good-will, the zeal, and bravery of your company of militia. I expected no less from the fidelity of the brave Canadians, and from their attachment to their native country. His Majesty, who is by this time probably informed of your glorious victory, will be no less pleased with this than affected by the distresses of the colony; so that, *supposing that a peace has not been concluded on the receipt of this news, the King of England cannot possibly avoid subscribing to such terms as our monarch shall have imposed upon him.* You are not uninformed of *the great advantages which we have gained* in Europe during the last campaign over the English and Prussians. . . . Besides this, the last accounts assure us that the garrisons of Fort Frederic (*Crown Point*), Niagara, and Chouagen (Oswego), *have suffered greatly by sickness, and that the regular troops in New England are reduced to nothing.* Gen. Murray has, therefore, dispersed manifestoes to no purpose to magnify his nation, to pacify the Canadians, to engage them to lay down their arms. . . . You see, sir, *the colony is drawing to the end of its hardships, and that it is on the point of seeing plenty succeed to scarcity.* If the English make any attempt, it can have no other object than the ambition of their generals; we are thoroughly prepared to repulse them with spirit; we have a train of artillery, *besides that which we took from the enemy, a still greater proportion of powder, balls, and ammunition for the operations which I have projected; we have also provisions enough* by means of the resources we shall find in the good-will of the Canadians, who have the greatest interest in the preservation of their religion and liberty. . . . My intention is that you should hold yourselves ready to march, with arms, baggage, and eight days' provisions, *to our frontiers whenever the case shall require it. I believe I may venture to assert that these will be the last dispositions which I shall have occasion to make for the defence of this colony, being firmly convinced that some time in August, at latest,* we shall have peace, provisions, and, in general, whatever we want.—I am, &c., &c.,

(Signed) DE VAUDREUIL."

XIII.—GENERAL MURRAY ON THE ROUTE FROM QUEBEC TO MONTREAL IN AUGUST 1760.

Extract from a French Account of the Campaign of 1760.

"General Murray conducted himself as an officer of great understanding, knowledge, and capacity, and left nothing to do for General Amherst. He employed five weeks in coming from Quebec to Montreal, which is only sixty leagues, and did us during his march more harm by his policy than by his army. He stopped often in the villages; spoke kindly to the inhabitants he found at home in their houses—whom hunger and famine had obliged to fly from our

army at Montreal; gave provisions to those unhappy creatures perishing for want of subsistence. He burned, in some cases, the houses of those who were absent from home and in the French army at Montreal, publishing everywhere an amnesty and good treatment to all Canadians who would return to their habitations and live there peaceably. In short, flattering some and frightening others, he succeeded so well, that at last there was no more possibility of keeping them at Montreal. It is true we had now only need of them to make a good countenance."

XIV.—CAPTAIN KNOX'S ACCOUNT OF THE TAKING OF FORT JACQUES CARTIER.

(*Journal, Sept.* 8, 1760.)

"Colonel Fraser's detachment was 1600 men and officers, with artillery. Late on the 9th (August) they landed above the fort without opposition, for the enemy suspected nothing, as they believed the Quebec garrison too weak to assail them or undertake such an enterprise. Colonel Fraser secured all the avenues leading to the fort. Next morning the garrison took the alarm, and beat to arms. Captain Albergetti, the French commandant, when summoned, refused in the usual terms, that he would defend the post to the last extremity. Colonel Fraser then disposed his men for the assault, and at the same time played on the garrison with his artillery, when Albergetti surrendered at discretion. . . . The garrison was about 50 regulars and 150 militia. The Canadians were sworn, and allowed to depart, the regulars taken prisoners to Quebec. Three officers and fifty regulars of ours then occupied the fort as a garrison."

XV.—THE RAPIDS OF THE ST LAWRENCE.

The *rapids* on the route of General Amherst's forces, when descending to Montreal, in 1760, were the following—the specified lengths of the *canals* now constructed enabling the reader to judge of their extent.

1st, Below the sites of Prescott and Ogdensburg, a series of two, the first beginning a little way above *Matilda* (North Shore), and running between Point Cardinal and Gallop's Island; the second between Point Iroquois (North Shore) and Rapid Plat Island, opposite to Waddington (South Shore), called *Gallop's Rapids*, now surmounted by means of two canals, which, together are about five miles long.

2d, *Rapids de Platt*, just above Mariatown (North Shore); the canal is four miles long.

3d, Rapids below Farren's Point and Chrysler's Farm; length of canal, three-quarters of a mile.

4th, *Long Sault*, between Dickenson's Landing and Cornwall, leading into Lake St Francis; canal (Cornwall) eleven and a half miles.

5th, A series of rapids, consisting of the *Coteau Rapids*, *Cedars*, and *Cascades*, leading into Lake St Louis; the canal (Beauharnois) is eleven and a quarter miles long.

Including the tortuosities of the course followed by vessels floating down these currents, the route through the rapids (passed by Amherst's army) was between thirty-five and forty miles in length.

XVI.—THE CAPITULATION OF MONTREAL, SEPT. 8, 1760.

The Articles of Capitulation.

ARTICLES of the Capitulation between his Excellency General Amherst, Commander-in-chief of his Britannic Majesty's troops and forces in North America, and his Excellency the Marquis de Vaudreuil, Grand Croix of the royal and military order of St Lewis, Governor and Lieutenant-general for the King in Canada.

Article 1. "Twenty-four hours after the signing of the present capitulation, the English General shall cause the troops of his Britannic Majesty to take possession of the gates of the town of Montreal; and the English garrison shall not come into the place, till after the French troops have evacuated it.

Answer. "The whole garrison of Montreal must lay down their arms, and shall not serve during the present war. Immediately after the signing of the present capitulation the King's troops shall take possession of the gates, and shall post the guards necessary to preserve good order in the town.

Article 2. "The troops and the militia, who are in garrison in the town of Montreal, shall go out with all the honours of war, six pieces of cannon, and one mortar, which shall be put on board the vessel where the Marquis de Vaudreuil shall embark, with ten rounds for each piece. The same shall be granted to the garrison of Trois Rivieres, as to the honours of war.

Article 3. "The troops and militia, who are in garrison in the fort of Jacques Cartier, and in the Island of St Helen, and other forts, shall be treated in the same manner, and shall have the same honours; and these troops shall go to Montreal, or Trois Rivieres, or Quebec, to be there embarked for the first sea-port in France by the most direct way. The troops who are in our posts on the frontiers, on the side of Acadia, at Detroit, Michillimakinac, and other posts, shall enjoy the same honours, and be treated in the same manner.

Answer. "All these troops are not to serve during the present war, and shall likewise lay down their arms. The rest is granted.

Article 4. "The militia to return to their homes unmolested.

Article 5. "The troops who keep the field shall raise their camp and march, drums beating, with their arms, baggage, and artillery, to join the garrison at Montreal, and shall be treated in every respect the same.

Answer. "These troops, as well as the others, must lay down their arms.

Article 6. The subjects of his Britannic Majesty, and of his most Christian Majesty, soldiers, militia, or seamen, who shall have deserted, or left the service of their sovereign, and carried arms in North America, shall be, on both sides, pardoned for their crimes; they shall be respectively returned to their country; if not, each shall remain where he is without being sought after or molested.

Answer. "Refused.

Article 7. "Magazines, munitions of war, &c., and everything belonging to his most Christian Majesty in all the places named in Article 3, to be delivered, with exact inventories, to commissaries appointed to receive them. Duplicates (of inventories) to be given to the Marquis de Vaudreuil.

Answer. "This is everything that can be asked on this Article.

Article 8. "The officers, soldiers, militia, seamen, and even the Indians,

detained on account of their wounds or sickness, as well in the hospital as in private houses, shall enjoy the privilege of the cartel, and be treated accordingly.

Answer. "The sick and the wounded shall be treated the same as our own people.

Article 9. "The English General shall engage to send back to their own homes the Indians and Moraigans who make part of his armies, immediately after the signing of the present capitulation; and, in the meantime, in order to prevent all disorders on the part of those who may not be gone away, the said General shall give safeguards to such persons who shall desire them, as well in the town as in the country.

Answer. "The first part refused. There never have been any cruelties committed by the Indians of our army; and good order shall be preserved.

Article 10. "His Britannic Majesty's General shall be answerable for all disorders on the part of his troops, and oblige them to pay the damages they may do, as well in the towns as in country.

Answer. "Answered by the preceding Article.

Article 11. "The English General shall not oblige the Marquis de Vaudreuil to leave the town of Montreal before the , and no person shall be lodged in his house till he is gone. The Chevalier Levis, commander of the land forces, and of the colony troops, the engineers, officers of the artillery and commissary of war, shall also remain at Montreal to the said day, and shall keep their lodgings there. The same shall be observed with regard to M. Bigot, intendant, the commissaries of the marines, and writers, whom the said M. Bigot shall have occasion for, and no person shall be lodged at the intendant's house before he shall be gone.

Answer. "The Marquis de Vaudreuil, and all these gentlemen, shall be masters of their houses, and shall embark when the King's ships shall be ready to sail to Europe, and all possible conveniences shall be granted.

Article 12. "The most convenient vessel to be provided for the Marquis de Vaudreuil and his suite; . . . to take his papers without examination, plate, baggage, &c.

Answer. "Granted, except as to archives necessary for the government of the country.

Article 13. "If before or after the embarkation of Marquis de Vaudreuil news of peace should arrive, and that, by the treaty, Canada should remain to his most Christian Majesty, the Marquis shall return to Quebec or Montreal, everything shall return to its former state under the dominion of his most Christian Majesty, and the present capitulation shall be null, and of no effect.

Answer. "Whatever the king may have done on this subject shall be obeyed.

Article 14. "Two vessels to be appointed to convey to France the Chevalier de Levis, his staff, officers, &c., and suite; to be victualled; officers to take their papers, &c., unexamined; and the married to take their wives and children, who shall also be victualled.

Answer. "Granted, except that all shall faithfully deliver up the charts and plans of the country.

Article 15. "A vessel shall also be appointed for the passage of M. Bigot, the intendant, with his suite, in which vessel the proper accommodations shall be made for him, and the persons he shall take with him. He shall likewise embark with him his papers, which shall not be examined, his equi-

pages, plate, and baggage, and those of his suite. This vessel shall also be victualled as before mentioned.

Answer. "Granted, with the same reserve as in the preceding Article.

Article 16. "Vessel to be appointed for M. de Longueil, governor of Three Rivers, the staff of the colony, and commissary of marine, with their families, &c.

Answer. "Granted.

Article 17. "Sufficient and convenient vessels to be appointed to convey all the land and sea officers with families, baggage, &c., and to be victualled.

Answer. "Granted.

Article 18. "Officers and soldiers, and all in their suite, having effects in the country, may send for them without hindrance.

Answer. "Granted.

Article 19. An hospital ship to be provided and victualled for conveyance to France of wounded and sick, able to be moved—and for the others when recovered—with their families, &c.

Answer. "Granted.

Article 20. "A commissary and one of the King's writers to be left to take care of hospitals, and of all affairs of the King of France.

Article 21. "Ships to be provided for the supreme council, police, and admiralty officers, all having commissions from the King of France, any that please to stay to look after their affairs, &c.

Answer. "Granted, with proviso as to papers.

Article 22. "If there are any military officers whose affairs should require their presence in the colony till next year, they shall have liberty to stay in it after having obtained the permission of the Marquis de Vaudreuil for that purpose, and without being reputed prisoners of war.

Answer. "All those whose private affairs shall require their stay in the country, and who shall have the Marquis de Vaudreuil's leave for so doing, shall be allowed to remain till their affairs are settled.

Article 23. "The commissary for the King's provisions to be allowed to stay till next year to answer the debts contracted. He and his clerks, with their families, to stay in the country or go to France, and to carry off papers unexamined, &c.

Answer. "Granted.

Article 24. "The provisions, and other kinds of stores which shall be found in the magazines of the commissary, as well in the town of Montreal, and of Trois Rivieres, as in the country, shall be preserved to him, the said provisions belonging to him, and not to the King, and he shall be at liberty to sell them to the French or English.

Answer. "Everything that is actually in the magazines, destined for the use of the troops, is to be delivered to the English commissary for the King's forces.

Article 25. "Passage to France to be provided for officers of the India Company, and their agent to stay till next year if thought proper; papers to be not inspected.

"*Answer.* "Granted.

Article 26. "The India Company's property (furs, &c.) in Montreal to be respected, and may be sent to France in the King's ships, paying freight at rates charged to the English.

"*Answer.* "Granted, excepting as respects any property belonging to the King of France.

Article 27. "The free exercise of the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman religion shall subsist entire, in such manner that all the States and people of the towns and country, places and distant posts, shall continue to assemble in the churches, and to frequent the sacraments as heretofore, without being molested in any manner, directly or indirectly. These people shall be obliged, by the English Government, to pay to the priests the tithes, and all the taxes they were used to pay, under the Government of his most Christian Majesty.

Answer. "*Granted*, as to the free exercise of their religion. The obligation of paying the tithes to the priests will depend on the King's pleasure.

Article 28. "The chapter, priests, cures, and missionaries shall continue, with an entire liberty, the exercise and functions in the parishes of the towns and country.

Answer. "Granted.

Article 29. "The grand vicars named by the chapter to administer the diocese during the vacancy of the episcopal see shall have liberty to dwell in the towns or country parishes, as they shall think proper. They shall at all times be free to visit in different parishes of the diocese, with the ordinary ceremonies, and exercise all the jurisdiction they exercised under the French dominion. They shall enjoy the same rights in case of death of the future bishop, of which mention will be made in the following article.

Answer. "Granted, except what regards the following article.

Article 30. "If, by the treaty of peace, Canada should remain in the power of his Britannic Majesty, his most Christian Majesty shall continue to name the bishop of the colony, who shall always be of the Roman communion, and under whose authority the people shall exercise the Roman religion.

Answer. "Refused.

Article 31. "The bishop shall, in case of need, establish new parishes, and provide for the rebuilding of his cathedral and his episcopal palace; and, in the mean time, he shall have the liberty to dwell in the town or parishes, as he shall judge proper. He shall be at liberty to visit his diocese with the ordinary ceremonies, and exercise all the jurisdiction which his predecessor exercised under the French dominion, save that an oath of fidelity, or a promise to do nothing contrary to his Britannic Majesty's service, may be required of him.

Answer. "This article is comprised under the foregoing.

Article 32. "The communities of nuns shall be preserved in their constitution and privileges. They shall continue to observe their rules. They shall be exempted from lodging any military, and it shall be forbid to trouble them in their religious exercises, or to enter their monasteries; safeguards shall even be given them if they desire them.

Answer. "Granted.

Article 33. "The preceding article shall likewise be executed with regard to the communities of Jesuits and Recollets, and of the house of the priests of Saint Sulpice at Montreal. This last, and the Jesuits, shall preserve their right to nominate to certain curacies and missions, as heretofore.

Answer. "Refused, till the King's pleasure be known.

Article 34. "All the communities, and all the priests, shall preserve their movables, the property and revenues of the seigniories, and other estates which they possess in the colony, of what nature soever they may be. And the same estates shall be preserved in their privileges, rights, honours, and exemptions.

Answer. "Granted.

Article 35. "If the canons, priests, missionaries, the priests of the ceremony of the foreign missions, and of St Sulpice, as well as the Jesuits and the Recollets, choose to go to France, passage shall be granted them in his Britannic Majesty's ships: And they shall all have leave to sell, in whole or in part, the estates and movables which they possess in the colonies, either to the French or to the English, without the least hindrance or obstacle from the British Government.

"They may take with them, or send to France, the produce, of what nature soever it be, of the said goods sold, paying the freight, as mentioned in the 26th article. And such of the said priests who choose to go this year shall be victualled during the passage at the expense of his Britannic Majesty, and shall take with them their baggage.

"They shall be masters to dispose of their estates, and to send the produce thereof, as well as their persons, and all that belongs to them, to France.

Article 36. "If, by the treaty of peace, Canada remains to his Britannic Majesty, all the French, Canadians, Acadians, merchants, and other persons, who choose to retire to France, shall have leave to do so from the English General, who shall procure them a passage. And, nevertheless, if, from this time to that decision, any French or Canadian merchants, or other persons, shall desire to go to France, they shall likewise have leave from the English General. But the one and the other shall take with them their families, servants, and baggage.

Answer. "Granted.

Article 37. "Lords of manors, military and civil officers, French settling or trading in the whole extent of the colony of Canada, and all others, shall preserve the entire peaceable property and possession of their goods, movable and immovable, merchandise, &c., and even their ships; . . shall keep or sell them as well to the French as English; to take away produce of them, . . . whenever they shall judge proper to go to France, paying freight as in the 26th article.

Answer. "Granted, as in the 26th article.

Article 38. "All the people who have left Acadia, and who shall be found in Canada, including the frontiers of Canada, shall have the same treatment as the Canadians, and shall enjoy the same privileges.

Answer. "The King is to dispose of his ancient subjects; in the meantime they shall enjoy the same privileges as the Canadians.

Article 39. "None of the Canadians, Acadians, or French, who are now in Canada and on the frontiers of the colony, on the side of Acadia, Detroit, Michillimakinac, and other places and posts of the countries above, the married and unmarried soldiers remaining in Canada, shall not be carried or transported into the English colonies, or to Old England, and they shall not be troubled for having borne arms.

Answer. "Granted, except with regard to the Acadians.

Article 40. "The savages or Indian allies of his most Christian Majesty shall be maintained in the lands they inhabit, if they choose to remain there; they shall not be molested on any pretence whatsoever, for having carried arms, and served his most Christian Majesty. They shall have, as well as the French, liberty of religion, and shall keep their missionaries. The actual vicars-general, and the bishop, when the episcopal see shall be filled, shall have leave to send them new missionaries when they shall judge it necessary.

Answer. "Granted, except the last article, which has been already refused.

Article 41. "The French, Canadians, and Acadians, of what state and condition soever, who shall remain in the colony, shall not be forced to take

arms against his most Christian Majesty or his allies, directly or indirectly, on any occasion whatsoever. The British Government shall only require of them an exact neutrality.

Answer. "They become subjects of the King.

Article 42. "The French and Canadians shall continue to be governed according to the custom of Paris, and the laws and usages established for this country; and they shall not be subject to any other imposts than those which were established under the French dominion.

Answer. "Answered by the preceding articles, and particularly by the last.

Article 43. "The papers of the Government shall remain, without exception, in the power of the Marquis de Vaudreuil, and shall go to France with him. These papers shall not be examined on any pretence whatsoever.

Answer. "Granted, with the reserve already made.

Article 44. "The papers of the intendancy, of the office of comptroller of the marine, of the former and new treasurers, of the King's magazines, of the office of the revenue and forges of St Maurice, shall remain in the power of M. Bigot, the intendant, and they shall be embarked for France in the same vessel with him; these papers shall not be examined.

Answer. "The same as to this article.

Article 45. "Registers and papers of the Supreme Council of Quebec, of the Provost and Admiralty of the same city; those of the royal jurisdiction of Three Rivers and of Montreal; of the seigniories, notarial papers, . . . and all relating to estates of the citizens, to remain in the colony, in the rolls of the jurisdictions on which these papers depend.

Answer. "Granted.

Article 46. "Inhabitants and merchants to enjoy all the privileges granted to subjects of his Britannic Majesty.

Answer. "Granted.

Article 47. "Negroes and Panis of both sexes to remain in their quality of slaves in possession of their owners, French and Canadian, who shall be at liberty to keep or to sell them; and they may also continue to bring them up in the Roman religion.

Answer. "Granted, except those who have been made prisoners.

Article 48. "The Marquis de Vaudreuil and all officers to have liberty to appoint attornies to act for them in reference to their business (property, &c.) until the peace. And if by the treaty between the two crowns, Canada does not return under the French dominion, these officers, or their attornies, may sell their property, &c., carry away or send to France, . . . as in the 37th article.

Answer. "Granted.

Article 49. "Inhabitants who have suffered damage in their goods which remained at Quebec, under the faith of the capitulation of that city, may make representations to the British Government, by whom due justice shall be rendered.

Answer. "Granted.

Article 50, *and last.* "The present capitulation shall be inviolably executed in all its articles, and *bona fide* on both sides, notwithstanding any infraction and any other pretext with regard to preceding capitulations, and without power to make reprisals.

Answer. "Granted.

P.S. Article 51. "The English General shall engage, in case any Indians remain after the surrender of this town, to prevent their coming into the

towns; and that they do not, in any manner, insult the subjects of his most Christian Majesty.

Answer. "Care shall be taken that the Indians do not insult any of the subjects of his most Christian Majesty.

Article 52. "The troops and other subjects of his most Christian Majesty, who are to go to France, shall be embarked, at latest, fifteen days after the signing of the present capitulation.

Answer. "Answered by the 11th article.

Article 53. "The troops and other subjects of his most Christian Majesty, who are to go to France, shall remain lodged and encamped in the town of Montreal, and other posts which they now occupy, till they shall be embarked for their departure: passports, however, shall be granted to those who shall want them for the different places of the colony to take care of their affairs.

Answer. "Granted.

Article 54. "All the officers and soldiers of the troops in the service of France, who are prisoners in New England, and who were taken in Canada, shall be sent back, as soon as possible, to France, where their ransom or exchange shall be treated of, agreeably to the cartel; and if any of these officers have affairs in Canada, they shall have leave to come there.

Answer. "Granted.

Article 55. "As to the officers of the militia, and the Acadians, who are prisoners in New England, they shall be sent back to their countries.

Answer. "Granted, except as regards the Acadians.

"Done at Montreal, the 8th Sept. 1760.

"VAUDREUIL.

"Done in the camp before Montreal, the 8th Sept. 1760.

"JEFF. AMHERST."

XVII.—EXTRACTS FROM THE TREATY OF PARIS, FEBRUARY 10, 1763.

[*Note.*—The Treaty comprised 27 Articles, besides some separate and supplementary stipulations. Those only which have special reference to Canada, Nova Scotia, &c., are included in the following extracts. The parties to the treaty were—Great Britain, France, Spain, and Portugal.]

Article 4. "His most Christian Majesty renounces all pretensions which he has heretofore formed, or might form, to Nova Scotia or Acadia, in all its parts, and guarantees the whole of it, and with all its dependencies, to the King of Great Britain. Moreover his most Christian Majesty cedes and guarantees to his said Britannic Majesty, in full right, Canada, with all its dependencies, as well as the Island of Cape Breton, and all other islands and coasts in the Gulf and River of St Lawrence, and, in general, everything that depends on the said countries, islands, and coasts, with the sovereignty, property, possession, and all rights acquired by treaty or otherwise, which the most Christian King and the Crown of France have had till now over the said countries, islands, lands, places, and coasts, and their inhabitants, so that Christian King cedes and makes over the whole to the said King and to the Crown of Great Britain, and that in the most ample manner and form, without restriction, and without any liberty to depart from the said cession and guarantee, under any pretence, or to disturb Great Britain in the above-

mentioned possessions. His Britannic Majesty, on his side, agrees to grant the liberty of the Catholic religion to the inhabitants of Canada: he will consequently give the most effectual orders, that his new Roman Catholic subjects may profess the worship of their religion according to the rites of the Roman Church, as far as the laws of Great Britain permit. His Britannic Majesty also agrees, that the French inhabitants, or others, who had been the subjects of the most Christian King in Canada, may retire with all safety and freedom, wherever they shall think proper, and may sell their estates, provided it be to subjects of his Britannic Majesty, and bring away their effects as well as their persons, without being restrained in their emigration, under any pretence whatsoever, except that of debts or of criminal prosecutions; the term limited for this emigration shall be fixed to the space of eighteen months, to be computed from the day of the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty.

Article 5. "Renews 13th Article of the Treaty of Utrecht, relative to liberty of fishing and drying on part of coasts of Newfoundland, except what relates to the coast of Cape Breton, &c. . . . And grants liberty of fishing in the Gulf of St Lawrence, to a distance not nearer than three miles of the coasts of the islands and continent—but not nearer than fifteen leagues from coast of Cape Breton, out of the said Gulf. Fishing on the coast of Nova Scotia, or Acadia, to be regulated by former treaties.

Article 6. "Concedes to his most Christian Majesty islands of St Pierre and Miquelon in full right, to serve as shelter to French fishermen, but not to fortify or build on them, and to have a guard of only fifty men for police."

XVIII.—INCIDENTS CONNECTED WITH THE CAPITULATION OF MONTREAL.

[*Note.*—Although it is certain that the French would have been unable to offer any effectual resistance to General Amherst's forces, yet Montreal was not altogether defenceless. It then had about 3000 inhabitants. Its defences consisted of a surrounding low stone wall, having, at intervals, eleven redoubts instead of bastions. Inside, in a central position, there was a citadel, or fort, from which the artillery could be made to sweep the streets from end to end. The alleged proposal of De Levis to retire with the troops to St Helen's Island, would, if true, show that he considered the place as not tenable against Amherst's army. Nevertheless, the conduct of the French General proves that he believed his troops entitled to better conditions than those granted.]

Letter of DE LEVIS *to* General AMHERST.

"MONTREAL, *Sept.* 7, 1760.

"SIR,—I send to your Excellency M. de Lapause, Assistant-Quartermaster-General of the Army, on the subject of the too rigorous article which you impose on the troops by the capitulation, and to which it would not be possible for us to subscribe. Be pleased to consider the severity of that article. I flatter myself you will be pleased to give ear to the representations that officer will make to you on my part, and have regard to them.—I have the honour to be, &c.,

"LE CHEVALIER DE LEVIS."

To this letter Amherst replied :—

"All I have to say in answer to it is, that I cannot in the least alter the conditions which I have offered to grant to the Marquis de Vaudreuil, and I

expect his definitive answer by the bearer on his return. . . . On every other occasion," &c.

De Levis then joined with his officers in a protest against the affront alleged to be put on the troops by refusing them the "honours of war;" and subsequently, until they left Canada for France, the French General and officers avoided as much as possible occasions of intercourse with the English officers.

From Rochelle, on November 27, 1760, De Levis wrote, in a letter addressed to the French War Minister at Paris :—

"The campaign ended with the signing, by M. de Vaudreuil, of the capitulation made by him, with which all I had to do was to protest against it for the treatment of the regulars, who merited more attention from M. de Vaudreuil and more respect from General Amherst. My sense of duty on this occasion would not permit me to receive General Amherst, nor to manifest towards him personally the polite attentions customary in the intercourse of generals placed in such circumstances. I thought it my duty to mark my resentment, and that I did not like the reasons which this English general has given for his conduct, namely, that it was in revenge for the cruelties committed by the savages with whom our troops had been allied."

Colonel Haldimand was detached by General Amherst to take possion of the place and of the property to be surrendered in virtue of the articles of capitulation. He asked for the French regimental colours, and for English standards that had fallen into the enemy's hands during the war; upon which, according to Captain Knox, they declared they had none to deliver up. Colonel Haldimand, having demanded explanations, they told him that "though each regiment had brought out colours from France, yet in this *woody* country these had been found cumbrous and of little use, in consequence of which they had been destroyed." The Commander-in-chief was immediately referred to on the subject, and ordered Haldimand to call on De Vaudreuil and De Levis to certify to the fact of the previous destruction of colours, which they did "by giving their parole d'honneur." Knox commented on the French account of the disappearance of their colours, saying, "It must have been since September 13, 1759, when it is notorious they had their colours displayed on the field of battle, since our officers saw them."

XIX.—AMHERST'S GENERAL ORDERS, AND OFFICIAL DISPATCH.

"CAMP BEFORE MONTREAL, *Sept.* 9, 1760.

Parole, King George and Canada.—The General sees with infinite pleasure the success that has crowned the efforts of his Majesty's troops and faithful subjects in America. The Marquis de Vaudreuil has capitulated; the troops of France in Canada have laid down their arms, and are not to serve during the war; the whole country submits to the dominion of Great Britain. The three armies are entitled to the General's thanks on this occasion; and he assures them that he will take the opportunity of acquainting his Majesty

with the zeal and bravery which has always been exerted by the officers and soldiers of the regular and provincial troops, and also by his faithful Indian allies.

The General is confident that when the troops are informed that the country is the King's, they will not disgrace themselves by the least appearance of inhumanity, or by unsoldierlike behaviour, in taking any plunder, more especially as the Canadians become now good subjects, and will feel the good effect of his Majesty's protection. (Signed) AMHERST."

Extract from General AMHERST'S *Dispatch announcing the Capitulation of Montreal.*

"I should not do justice to General Murray and Colonel Haviland if I did not assure you they have executed the orders I gave them to the utmost of my wishes. I must also beg leave to say, I am obliged to Brigadier-General Gage for the assistance he has given me, and I have taken the liberty to give, in public orders, my assurances to the three armies, that I would take the first opportunity of acquainting you with the zeal and bravery which has always been exerted by the officers and soldiers of the regular and provincial troops, as also by your Majesty's Indian allies. Sir William Johnson has taken unwearied pains in keeping the Indians within humane bounds; and I have the pleasure to assure you, that not a peasant, woman, or child, has been hurt by them, or a house burnt since I entered the enemy's country."

XX.—WILLIAM PITT (FIRST LORD CHATHAM).

[*Note.*—While national corruption and the mismanagement of the public affairs, both at home and abroad, were chief causes of the ruin of France in America, the reader should not lose sight of the agency of the great English Prime Minister, William Pitt. To his extraordinary ability has been ascribed a large share of the credit due on account of the successes achieved by the British naval and military forces, and the humiliations and sacrifices to which France was subjected in both hemispheres. The following extracts from the writings of the late Lord Brougham make manifest the sources of the vast influences which he (Pitt) exerted on the conduct and fortunes of the war.]

BROUGHAM'S "*Statesmen of the Time of George III.*," pp. 23–27.

"The quickness with which Pitt could ascertain his object, and discover his road to it, was fully commensurate with his perseverance and his boldness in pursuing it. . . . Add to this a mind eminently fertile in resources, a courage which nothing could daunt in the choice of his means, a resolution equally indomitable in their application, a genius, in short, original and daring, which bounded over the petty obstacles raised by ordinary men, and forced its path through the entanglements of this base undergrowth to the worthy object ever in view, the prosperity and renown of his country. Far superior to the paltry objects of a grovelling ambition, and regardless alike of party and of personal considerations, he constantly set before his eyes the highest duty of a public man, to further the interests of his species. He disregarded alike the frowns of power and the gales of popular applause, and exposed himself undaunted to the vengeance of the Court, while he battled against its corruptions. . . .

"Nothing could be more entangled than the foreign policy of this country at the time when he undertook the supreme direction of her affairs. Nothing could be more disastrous than the aspect of her fortunes in every quarter of the globe. With an army of insignificant amount, and commanded by men only desirous of grasping at the emoluments, without doing the duties or

incurring the risks of their profession; with a navy that could hardly keep the sea, and whose chiefs vied with their comrades on shore in earning the character given them by the new Minister—of being utterly unfit to be trusted in any enterprise of the least apparent danger; with a generally prevailing dislike of both services, which at once repressed all desire of joining either, and damped all public spirit in the country, by extinguishing all hope of success, and even all love of glory—it was hardly possible for a nation to be placed in circumstances more inauspicious to military exertions; and yet war raged in every quarter of the world where our dominion extended, while the territories of our only ally, as well as those of our own sovereign in Germany, were invaded by France, and her forces by sea and land menaced our shores. In the distant possessions of the Crown the same want of enterprise and of spirit prevailed. Armies in the West were paralysed by the inaction of a captain who would hardly take the pains of writing a dispatch to chronicle the nonentity of his operations; and in the East, frightful disasters were brought upon our settlements by barbarian powers. . . . In this forlorn state of affairs, which rendered it as impossible to think of peace, as hopeless to continue the yet inevitable war, the base and sordid views of politicians kept pace with the mean spirit of the military caste; and parties were split or united, not upon any difference or agreement of public principle, but upon mere questions of patronage and of share in the public spoil, while all seemed alike actuated by one only passion—the thirst of power and of gain. As soon as Pitt took the helm, the hand that held it was instantly felt in every motion of the vessel. There was no more of wavering counsel, of torpid inaction, of listless expectancy, of abject despondency. His firmness gave confidence, his spirit roused courage, his vigilance secured exertion, in every department under his sway. Each man, from the first Lord of the Admiralty down to the most humble clerk in the victualling office—each soldier, from the commander-in-chief to the most obscure contractor or commissary—now felt assured that he was acting or was indolent under the eye of one who knew his duties and his means as well as his own, and who would very certainly make all defaulters, whether through misfeasance or through nonfeasance, accountable for whatever detriment the commonwealth might sustain at their hands. Over his immediate coadjutors his influence swiftly obtained an ascendant which it ever after retained uninterrupted. . . .

"The effects of this change in the whole management of the public business, and in all the plans of the Government, as well as in their execution, were speedily made manifest to the world. France, attacked on some points, and menaced on others, was compelled to retire from Germany, soon afterwards suffered the most disastrous defeats, and, instead of threatening England and her allies with invasion, had to defend herself against attack. No less than sixteen islands, and settlements, and fortresses of importance, were taken from her in America, Asia, and Africa, including all her West Indian colonies (except St Domingo), and the whole important province of Canada was likewise conquered. . . .

"But it is a more glorious feature in this unexampled administration which history has to record, when it adds, that all public distress had disappeared; that all discontent in any quarter, both of the colonies and parent state, had ceased; that no oppression was anywhere practised, no abuse suffered to prevail; that no encroachments were made upon the rights of the subject, no malversation tolerated in the possessors of power; and that England, for the first time, presented the astonishing picture of a nation supporting without murmur a widely-extended and costly war, and a people, hitherto torn with conflicting parties, so united in the service of the commonwealth that the voice of faction had ceased in the land. 'These' (said the son of his first and most formidable adversary, Walpole),—'These are the doings of Mr Pitt, and they are wondrous in our eyes!'"

INDEX.

ABERCROMBIE, General, unsuccessful attack on Carillon, 339, 360.
Abraham, battle of Plains of, 415; second battle, 454.
Acadia, origin of colony, 34, 35; forced clearing of, 303.
Agriculture, rise of Canadian, 170; early growth of, 190.
Aillebout, M. de, arrival of, in the Island of Montreal, 108; military preparations of, against the Iroquois, 108; successful governorship, 110; proposal to New Englanders, 113; character and services, 121, 124; firm policy of, 124; retirement and death, 124.
Amerigo Vespucci, voyages and pretensions, lii.
Amherst, General, appointment as commander-in-chief, 332, 358; cautious movements upon Lake Champlain, 359, 360; failure to effect a junction with Saunders and Wolfe, 361; expedition against Montreal, 461; his plan of operations criticised, 461; strict treatment of the Indians, 462; perilous movements on Montreal, 467-471; his force, 467, 469; capture of Fort Levis and La Salette, 468; principal difficulty in his way, 469; prepares to besiege Montreal, 472.
Anderson, Dr W. J., author's obligations to, 450.
Annapolis, settlement at, 35; destruction of, by the English, 35; origin of name, 258.
Anson, flag-ship, 38.
Argenson, M. de, governorship of, 128-132; character and capabilities, 128; installation, 128; inability to repel the Iroquois, 129; effect on health of, 129; courageous conduct, 130; desperate appeal to France, 131; disgust and retirement, 131.
Associates, Company of One Hundred, organisation of, 75; failure of first expedition, 75; first practical start, 76; first composition, 76; pledges, 76; privileges, 77; stipulations in regard to religion, 77; powers and obligations, 78; first difficulties, 78; first proceedings, 92; companies subordinate to, 181; troubles and embarrassments, 102; unpatriotic claim, 131; dissolution, 169.
Avangour, Baron de, governorship of, 132-136; dismay at the critical posture of affairs, 132; Indian proposals of peace to, 132; consequent consultation and decision, 132, 133; chagrin, 135; recall, 136; report and memoir of, on the state of the colony, 136; after services and death, 136.

BARRE, M. de la, antecedents, 194; governorship, 194-196; abortive expedition against the Iroquois, 195; recall, 196.
Beauharnois, M. de, governorship of, 273-280; policy, 273; complaints of English encroachment, 276; enterprise, 276; last acts and recall, 280.
Beavers, abundance in Canada, 126; value of, 126.
Bellamont, Lord, threat of, 242.
Belle Riviere, battle of, 306.
Bigot, Intendant, and his agents, public frauds of, 313, 314, 331, 350, 351; unpopularity of, 347.
Boulé, lieutenant to Champlain, 67; reconnoitering expedition and capture of, 73.
Breboeuf, John, greatest of the Jesuit missionaries, 114; terrible martyrdom, 114; remains and bust, 114, 115.
Breton, Cape, importance to France, 262.

CABOT, discoverer of Newfoundland, xix.
Caën, Emery de, supersedes Kirkt as Governor of Quebec, 79.
Caën, William de, rival company under, 61; co-operation with Champlain, 63.
Calliere, De, project of, 203; its failure, 204; governorship of, 244-253; policy, 244, 245; embassy to negotiate a general treaty between the French and Indians, 246; sagacious proceedings, 247, 248; erection of Fort Detroit, 248; uneasiness,

249; peace proposals, 250; thwarting of the English, 251; fear of England, 251; death, 252; effect of his administration, 252.
Canada, discovery of, 2; winter in, 12; preparations for first European colonisation of, 18; failure of the attempt, 23; early trade with the coast of, 24; first expedition to, 2-7; second expedition, 5-18; failure of first attempt to colonise, 22; of second attempt, 26; the French name for, 26; the early peltry trade with, 27-29; wild animals, 29; founder of, 32; appointment of M. de Monts as first lieut.-general of, 33; the hope of, 34; Prince Condé viceroy, 44; establishment of Christianity in, 47; early explorations in, 48; original wildness of, 49; first emigrant to, 56; first French governor, 59; an epoch in the history of, 59; European population in 1620, 63; surrender to England, 74; restoration to France, 76; population in 1633 and 1639, 91; dependent state in 1639, 91; progress, 92; state at Champlain's death, 93-96; crisis in the history of, 96; colonies that affected, 96; causes of the slow growth of, 97; estimate of life in, 102; early struggles, 102; governors of till 1663, 104; disastrous state, 114-116; rescue by self-sacrifice of Dollard, 117; heroic age, 119; dependence of prosperity on peace or war with the Iroquois, 126; wealth, 126; extreme peril, 132; gleams of hope to, 134, 135; division into parishes, 137; population in 1663, 145; quality and character of first inhabitants, 146, 147; visited by pestilence, 147; beginning of real prosperity, 171; prosperity under Courcelle and Talon, 180; population in 1667, 180; at close of Frontenac's administration, 190; worth of exports from, 1682, 191; settlement of the ecclesiastical affairs in, 191; population in 1688, 201; disastrous state in 1688-89, 201, 202; imminency of ruin, 204; abandonment by France to its own resources, 212, 213; unsuccessful invasion by the English, 226; state under Calliere, 252; indifference of France, 253; undue wealth and influence of the clergy, 253; cession of territory to England, 261; mean and ruinous policy of the home government, 266; internal improvements, 269, 270; population at close of Vaudreuil's governorship, 270; money currency, 270; officiality, 271; long peace of, 273; fraud and peculation in the government, 299, 304, 313; dissensions of the military authorities, 299-309; state in 1755, 313; cost to France, 314; important acquisitions in 1756, 315; frightful picture of 1756, 316; deplorable state in winter 1757-58, 330, 331; peculation and gambling, 331; crisis in the history of, 342; effect on, of campaign of, 1758, 343; desperate condition of prior to extinction of French rule, 344-357; maladministration of the material resources, 348, 349; dearth, 352; virtual abandonment by France, 345, 346, 354; military population and resources of, in view of campaign of 1759, 355, 356; population in 1760, under military rule, 467; cession to Great Britain, 477.
Cap-Rouge, station at, 19, 20; first colony at, 22.
Carignan Regiment, notice of, 155.
Caron, Jos. le, mission of, 47; hardships, 49; establishes himself, 49; promotes peace, 62; re-visits France, 64; returns with Champlain, 69; death, 78.
Cartier, Jacques, character and seamanship, 1; commission from Francis I., xx., 1, 2; first voyage and equipments, 2; harbours in St Catherine's, 2; arrives at the Isle of Birds, 3; visits and abandons Labrador, 3; discovers Magdalen Islands, 3; and New Brunswick, 4; traffics with natives, 4, 5; sagacity, 4; essays a westwards inlet, 4, 5; lands at Gaspé, 5; takes formal possession of the country, 5; buys up the natives, 6; returns home, and arrives at St Malo, 7; is welcomed, and re-equipped for a second voyage, 8; sails and enters the St Lawrence, 8, 9; arrives off Cape Diamond, 9; is on friendly terms with the natives, 9; takes steps to prevent undue familiarity, 10; penetrates to Hochelaga, 10; scans the interior from an eminence, 11; calls the eminence Mount Royal, 11; is attacked by the natives, 12; prepares against winter, 12; suffers from the severity of the season and scurvy, 12; is distrusted by the natives and in peril, 13; discovers by artifice the natives' antidote for scurvy, 13; was nearly losing all his men, 14; has recourse to the Virgin Mary, 14; credits God with his cunning, 14; prepares with the spring to return home, 15; arrives at St Malo, 15; fame as a discoverer and sea-captain, 15, 16; is received with apathy and even unfriendliness at home, 17; receives notwithstanding, after four years, charge as captain-general of a third expedition, 18; obtains a royal certificate, 18; is appointed to carry a colony out with him, 18; has to leave the colony behind, 19; establishes himself at Cap-Rouge, 19; makes preparations for a settlement, 20; is distrusted and thwarted by the Indians, 21; passes his second Canadian winter, 21; believes he has discovered gold and diamonds, 21; prepares to return home, 22; meets a colonial expedition at St John's, refuses to join it, and sails to France, 22; retires into obscurity, 23.
Cattle, importation of, 101.
Cayugas. *See* Iroquois.

Champlain, Lake, discovery of, 39.
Champlain, Madame, her connections, 42; accompanies her husband to Canada, 59; influence upon the natives, 59-64; devotion, self-sacrifices, and death, 64, 65, 86.
Champlain, Samuel de, character and antecedents, 32; first voyage to Canada, 32; careful explorations, 32; narrative, 33; service under De Monts, 34; suggestions, 35; founds Quebec, 36; conspiracy against baffled, 36; forethought 37; concludes a treaty with the Indians, 38; memoirs, 38; expeditions against the Iroquois, 39; discovers Lakes Champlain and George, 39; defeats the Iroquois, 39; humanity, 39, 41, 50; precautions against winter, 40; home embarrassments, 40; returns, and successfully renews hostilities, 41; plans, 42; return to France and marriage, 42; founds Montreal, 43; treats with the Indians, 43; returns to France, persuades Prince Condé to accept the viceroyalty, 43, 44; difficulties with free-traders, 44; explores a north-westward route to China, 44, 45; is hospitably entertained at Isle Allumettes by a friendly chief, 45; gives up the enterprise disappointed, 45; re-visits France, 45; obtains a new charter, 46; sails, with missionary aims and outfit, 46; motto, 46; establishes missions to the Indians, 47; conference with *Indians*, 47; makes extensive discoveries, 48; stays among the Hurons, 49; conciliatory policy, 49, 55; trouble with the Hurons, 52; is twice wounded, 52; winters with the Hurons, 53; is welcomed back to Quebec, 55; takes a larger view of the wants of the colony, 55; returns with a new programme to France, 56; experiences more misfortunes and discouragements, 56, 57; *letters*-royal to, as governor, 58, 59; goes out again, taking his *wife with him*, 59; fortifies Quebec, 59; new anxieties, 60, 61; is established in the governorship, 62; presides at the first great peace convention, 62; faith in future of the colony, 63; resolves to appeal to the mother country, 64; sails home, 64; pleads the cause of the colony, 66; receives a new commission, 68; returns to the colony, 69; adopts vigorous measures, 70; experiences new reverses, 72; defies Kirkt, 72; receives temporary relief, 72; surrenders Quebec, 74; high-mindedness, 74; *embarks for* England, and returns to France, 74; heart-heaviness, 74; revived activity, 79; heads a new colony, 79; prudent policy, 79; influence over the Indians, 81; difficulty in view of the drinking habits of the Indians, 81; regard for the educational wants of the colony, 83; his last days and death, 84; funeral of, 85; *last* will of, 85; resting-place of, 85; resumé of his life, 86, 87; defects of his character, 87; his physique, character, &c., 88-91.
Charlevoix, remarks on Canada, 273.
Chauvin, fate of, 31. See *Pontegravé*.
China, early attempts to find a north-west passage to, 45.
Colbert, 185; and Canada, 179.
Colonies, not Canadian, of English at Virginia, 96; at Massachusetts, 96; of Dutch at Albany and New York, 96; rapid rise, 97, 98; presence disastrous to French colonisation, 98; friendly overtures from English, 165; note on English, 172; population of English in 1682, 190; French preparations to subjugate the English, 240; the English colonists, intrigues of, 197, 201; dissensions with the French, 200; animosity towards French, 204; alliance with the Iroquois, 204; designs, 205; expedition from Montreal against, 209; alarm, 209; expedition from Three Rivers against, 210; expedition from Quebec against, 210; cruelties undergone, and losses, 209-212; purposes of revenge, 212; vain appeal to England for assistance, 213; determination to expel the French from Canada, 214; retaliations, 215; abortive *expedition* against Montreal, 214; unsuccessful naval armament against Quebec, 214, 215; preparations for another attack on Quebec, 226; disastrous issue of this, 227; efforts to undermine French influence over the Indians, 246; frightful suffering from Indian and French incursions, 255; *indignant* resolution to annihilate the French power, 256; successful appeal to Queen *Anne's* Government, and warlike preparations, 258, 259; disastrous issue of the expedition, and retreat, 259; ideas in regard to boundaries, 283; resolute decision to resist the claims of the French to the Ohio valley, 288; original designs as against the French, 298; four projected expeditions of, under Braddock, against the French, 298; account of these, 300-307; dilemma and harsh proceedings in regard to *Nova Scotia*, 302-304; persecution of, 1756-58, 320; reverses in Ohio valley in 1756, 317-321; entanglements with imperial military schemes, 322; successes of, in campaign of 1758, 333.
Colonists, early French, character of, 146, 147; enterprise, 170, 171; increase, 171; ravages of scurvy and small-pox among, 181; agricultural wealth in 1682, 191.
Colonists, French and English, standing cause of quarrel between, 232; relationships with the Iroquois, 234, 235; quarrels as to right of superiority over the Iroquois territory, 240, 241; peace between, in consequence of Treaty of Ryswick, 241; renewal of hostilities be-

tween, 255; intrigues among the Indians, 255; hostile operations for supremacy frustrated by the cunning policy of the Indians, 257; comparative military resources, 258; peace by Treaty of Utrecht, 260, 261; comparative estimate, 275; outbreak of war between, 277; disregard of agreements between the mother countries, 283, 284; collisions on the border territories, 287; preparations for a decisive struggle, 291; account of the fortified stations of 292-295; home succours, naval and military, 297; respective territorial claims, 298; relative military positions of in 1755, 299-315.

Colonisation, French, of Canada, original aims of, 2; first attempt at, 22; second attempt at, 26; the peltry trade in its relation to, 27-29; attempts at, by chartered companies, 28; by Pontegravé and Chauvin, 31; by Pontegravé and De Chates, 31; the first real founder, 32; first great attempt at, 34; Champlain's success in, 36-74; all but defeat of, 58; obstacle to, from Indian feuds, 61; jealousies connected with, adjusted, 62; obstructions to, from the English, 73; new attempt at, 75; effects on, of drinking propensities of the Indians, 81; progress, 92; comparative weakness and slowness, 97; missionary in its aims, 98; drawbacks to, 102; obstruction from Iroquois to, 126; critical moment in, 132; indifference of French Government to, 253; true bane of, 265.

Columbus, discoverer of America, ii.

Commission, boundaries, report of, 282.

Compagnie de Montreal, la, institution and aims, 106; first president, 107; steadfast determination of, 107; equipment and start, 108; troubles from Iroquois, 109; straits of, 110; dissolution of, 111.

Companies, old and new, rivalries of, 61; union of, 61.

Company, united, complaints at home against, 66; embarrassment from, 69, 71.

Company, Indian, exclusive trade transactions of, 271, 272.

Condé, Prince, becomes Viceroy of Canada, 44; can do nothing for the colony, 57; resigns his viceroyalty, 58.

Confessional, the, the Indians and, 324.

Congregation de la Notre Dame, foundation of the, 111.

Constitution, political, of Canada, changes in, 136; establishment of a new, 140-143; proclamation, 143; bad working, 153.

Convent of the Recollets, founding of a, 60.

Convent, Ursuline, foundation of an, 106; burning of, 121; efforts to restore, 121, 122; Indian sympathy with the nuns of, 122; necessary sacrifice of, 227.

Corvées, days of, 367.

Cook, Captain, services at siege of Quebec, 377.

Council, Supreme, appointment of a, 140; arrival of, 141; composition of, 141; powers of several members of, 141; collective powers of, 141; restriction upon, 142; installation of, 143; dissensions in, 152, 183-185, 190.

Courcelle, M. de, expedition against the Iroquois, 158, 159; governorship of, 174-175; character and service to the colony, 174, 175, 180-182.

Coureurs de bois, hazardous and illicit trade, 190; bootless prosecution, 190; employment against the Iroquois, 199-202.

Crises, in the history of French Canada, 342.

Crown Point, military importance of, 293.

DENONVILLE, M. de, antecedents, 194; governorship of, 196-205; successful expedition against the Iroquois, 197, 198; embarrassments, 200-202; representations to the court of France, 203; recall, 205; character and administration, 205.

De Chates, alliance of, with Pontegravé, 31; with Champlain, 32.

Diamond, Cape, first arrival at, 9; chosen by Champlain for a permanent settlement, 36.

Dieskau, General, army, 297; overruled by Vaudreuil, 309; defeat and fate, 311.

Dollard, M., desperate enterprise of, 116, 117.

Duquesne, M., governorship of, 285-297; vigorous reforms in the administration, 286; defence of French claims to the Ohio valley, 287; resignation, 297.

Du Vignau, imposture of, 45.

EARTHQUAKES, a succession of, in 1663, 148, 149; reported effects, physical and moral, of, 149, 150.

Eclipse, almost total, in 1663, 148.

England, territorial pretensions of, 100, 298; cession to, of Canadian territory by Treaty of Utrecht, 261; capture by, of Louisbourg, 278; resolute determination to extinguish French rule in Canada, 343, 344.

English troops, sufferings of, in Quebec, 432, 433.

Eries, or Cat Indians, foolhardiness and extirpation of, 127.

Expedition, Acadian, history of the, 34.

Expedition, English, in 1755 against Nova Scotia, 300-305; Shirley's, 305; Braddock's, 205-307; against Crown Point, 307-312; in 1757, miscalculated, against Louisbourg, 322; in 1758, to the Ohio valley, 334-336; against Fort Frontenac, 336, 337; to Lake Champlain, 337-340; in 1759, to valley of St Lawrence, 359-361; against Fort Niagara, 361, 362; against Quebec, 363; against Montreal, 461-472.

Expedition, French, against Oswego, 317, 318; against Fort William Henry, 1756, 320. 321; against Fort George, 1757, 323-392.

Feudal elements, importation of, 171.
First military expedition against the Iroquois, 157, 158; retreat, 159; comparative success, 159; Courcelle's opinion of, 159; second, or De Tracy's, 160, 161; difficulties in the march, 162, 163; unexpected food supplies, 162-164; its ravages, and return, 164, 165; its effect upon the Iroquois, 165.
Forts, military, erection of, against the Iroquois Indians, 156, 157, 188, 189; border, of French and English colonists, 292-295.
Fort Niagara, calamity at, 199.
Fort St Louis, projected building of, 60; slow progress of the works, 69; new plans for, and operations, 70.
Foye, Ste, account of battle of, 451-455; regiments engaged at, 452; loss of British, 454.
France, religious and political troubles in, 24; colonisation of Canada by, 28; insincerity of the court to Champlain, 69; territorial pretensions, 99; Indian name for king, 104; imbecility of the court, 204; territorial claims of, 298; costs of her Canadian colony, 314.
Francis I., ambition of, 2; sarcastic saying, 2; his appreciation of Cartier, 18.
Franciscan order of Recollets, immigration of, 46; exclusion from Canada, 137; seminary, 55; among the Hurons, 62; appeal to France, 64.
Frontenac, Count, governorship, 183-190; character and antecedents, 175-183; haughtiness of, and dissensions with bishop and intendant, 183, 184; censured, 185; schemes, 186; firmness and decision, 188, 189; arbitrary proceedings, 190; recall, 190; reappointment, 205; vigorous measures, 206; twofold project, 207; designs against the English, 208; measures against the English colonists, 208-211; successes, 209-211; congratulations from the Iroquois, 211; decisive measures, 213; ecstasy in the war-dance, 214; vigorous preparations to resist the English fleet, 215, 216; reply to the English summons to surrender Quebec, 217-219; judicious defence of Quebec, and defeat of the English, 218; recognition of this service, 219; success of his administration, 220; embarrassments, 221; home succour, 222; failure to conciliate the Iroquois, 222; comparative military weakness, 225; successes nevertheless against the English and the Iroquois, 226; bone of contention with the Iroquois, 232; preparations for a decisive campaign against the Iroquois, 234-236; account of campaign, 237-239; death, 242; character, 242, 243.
Frontenac, contention about, 233; capture of, 337.

Gallissoniere, M. de la, governorship of, 280-282; proposals to curb the English power, 280; appointment as a boundary commissioner, 281; failure to establish a printing-press in Canada through the parsimony of the home government, 281; services, 281, 282; retirement, 282.
Gamanche, Marquis de, gifts for mission purposes, 70; for education, 83.
Garakonthie, the moral character and influence of, 133; embassy under, 157; death, 188.
Gaspé, French take formal possession of Canada at, 5.
George, Fort, siege and capitulation of, 323-326; massacre of, 327-329.
George, Lake, discovery of, 39.
Giffard, services to Canada, 101.
Gorgues, M. de, chivalrous enterprise, 25.
Governors of Canada, list of, till 1663, 104-112; similarity of task, 104; complete list, 144; chief embarrassments, 112; general character, 119; ceremonial reception, 128; qualifications required, 285.
Guyart, Marie (Mère Marie de l'Incarnation), character, 176; Ferland's description of, 176; influence upon colonial manners, 177.

Haviland, Colonel, movements on Montreal, 462, 463.
Henry III., letters-royal of, to Champlain, 58, 59.
Henry IV., interest in colonisation of Canada, 26, 33; grants a charter to trade with, and colonise Canada, 30; effect of death on the colony, 35.
Herbert, Louis, history of, 56; family of, 56; independence of, 71; widow and son-in-law of, 74.
Hochelaga, French station at, 10; visited by Champlain, 32; site of Montreal, 43.
Horses, importation of, 157.
Hotel Dieu, establishment of, 106.
Hudson, Henry, discoveries, and fate of, 45.
Hudson's Bay Company, charter of, 182.
Huguenots, persecutions against, 24, 25; exclusion from Canadian colonisation, 55, 77, 78; jealousy towards Jesuits, 67; disfavour shown to, and disabilities of, 68.
Hurons, the French alliance with, 37; friendliness, 42, 80, 100; territory, 48; elation, 50; over-confidence, defeat and retreat, 52; strategy of, 53; attack of Iroquois on, 105; annihilation of, 115; numbers and territory, 115; descendants, 116; speech of chief, 122.

Iberville, Pierre le Moyne d', father, 230; services, 230, 231; naval feats, 231.
Indians, origin of name, xx.; numbers, xxi.; region and occupation, &c., xxi.; names and hunting-grounds of the Canadians of New England, xxi.-xxiii.; savage state, xxiii., xxiv.; religion, xxiv.; war qualities, xxiv.; common qualities, xxv.; present number, and state of Canadians, xxv., xxvi.; jealousy of the, 6; French trade with, 24; French treaty with, 37; cruelty towards, 39, 41, 50; missions to, 47; first experience of treachery, 57; league of, against the French settlers, 59; internecine feuds of, 60; treaty of peace between, 63; naturalisation of Frenchmen among, 63, 246; disastrous effects of intoxicating drink on, 81; failure to educate, 180-197; disgraceful bribes by French and English, 223; criminal deference to their cruel vindictiveness, 222-225; concourse for conference at Montreal, 249-251; extermination of a tribe incited by the English, 260; treachery, 310; fickleness, 320.
Indies, East, early attempts to find a north-west passage to, 45.
Iroquois Indians, expeditions against, 39; hostility to the French colonists, 39; first defeat, 39; second defeat, 41; third expedition against, 50; defences, 51; attack upon, 51; courage and victory, 52; revenge upon the Hurons, 54; obtain fire-arms, 54; trouble the rising colony, 60; agree to peace, 63; friendly to the English, 100; depredations, 104, 105; treachery, 105, 112; barbarous proposal, 105; ambuscading ways of, 109; atrocities of, 111, 113-115, 117; all but successful plans for extinction of French rule, 117; designs against the Hurons, 123; audacity, 125; defeat, 125; complaint against, 126; the dominancy of, 129; French horror of, 129, 130; character, 130; preparations of, for a last assault, 130; unexpected proposal for peace, 132; repulses, 135; continued incursions, 155; warlike preparations against, 156; treachery, 160; successive retreats, 162, 163; palisaded camps of, 164; embassy for peace, 165; account of, 166-168; tribes and geographical distribution, 166; region, 166; cruelty, 167; value to the colony, 171-180; settlement of converted, 181; preference for English, 182; disaffection of, 188-194; defeat by Denonville, 198, 199; renewed incursions, 199; dubious peace with, 200; fearful barbarities, 202; alliance with the English, 204-209; new inroads and cruelties, 222; French distrust of the converted, 222, 223; comparative value of a dead and a living, 224; tired of hostilities, 228; renewal of hostilities, 234; alliance with the colonists, 234, 235; great expedition against, 236; disastrous plight, 238, 239; refusal to own subjection to either France or England, 241; cunning, 242; independent attitude, 245; provisional treaty with the French, 247; conclusion of peace, 250; request for priests, 251; refusal to own English or French supremacy, 261; accession to, 261; holders of the balance of power, 262.
Isle Allumettes, discovery of, 45.
Isle of Birds, why so-called, 3; of Byron, natural wealth of, 3; of Bacchus, vines of, 9.

Jenner, salutation to, 181.
Jesuit missionaries, employment and arrival of, 67; distrust of, 67; two distinguished, 67; cold reception, 70; establishment on their own resources, 70; gifts to, 70; patriotism, 71; English concession to, 74; preference for, over mendicant, 77; "Relations" of, 81; moral virtues, 82; enlightened views, 83; horrid sufferings, 114; greatest of, 114; peace mediations, 127; magnanimity, 133; supercession, 137; English veto upon, 246; machinations against the English, 301.
Jeune, Le, thankfulness, 92; enthusiastic account of, 94-96.
Johnson, William, notice of character and services, 308; victory of, over the French near Fort Edward, 310, 311; personal influence of, 320; victory at Fort Niagara, 361, 362.
Jonquiere, M. de la, governorship, 282-285; charge of avarice against, 285; death, 285.

Kalm, Professor, 282.
Kirkt, Sir David, his challenge, 72; intercepts supplies to Quebec, 72; demands the surrender of Quebec, and takes possession, 74.
Kirkt, Louis, first English commandant of Quebec, 75; his resignation, 79.
Kondiaronk (the Rat), treachery of, 201; death, 250.

Labrador, Cartier's opinion of, 3; first French viceroy of, 18.
Massacre of Lachine, 202.
Lallemant, friend and spiritual adviser of Champlain, 67; patriotism, 72; attends Champlain in his last moments, 84.
Laval, M., arrival of, 130; quarrel with D'Argenson about precedence and liquor traffic, 131, 136; ecclesiastical appointments, 137; abolition of Jesuit missionary system, 137; new ecclesiastical organisation of, 137; appointment as bishop, 142; collision with De Mesy, 152; coolness and dignity, 152; complaint against De Mesy to the king, 153; arbitrary proceedings, 153; dissensions with Frontenac, 184; anxiety for settlement of the liquor question, 185; arbi-

trary conduct of, 191; controversy with the Recollets, 192; application for a successor, 192; retirement, 196; character, 196.
Lauson, De, governorship of, 125-128; defeats the Iroquois, and concludes a peace with them, 125; two concessions censured, 126; unpopularity and retirement, 127.
Lescarbot, accompanies De Mont's expedition, 34; his opinion of Champlain, 87.
Levis, M. de, character and services of, 419; scheme to retake Quebec, and recover Canada, 427; forces under him, 427; advance to recapture Quebec, 448; victory at Ste Foye, 453, 454; mistake after, 456; siege preparations, 456; their defeat, 456-458; his losses, 459; dispiritment, 460.
Limestone, importation of, 60; discovery of, 60.
Louis XIV., promise of aid to the colony, 131; apathy, 131; sends an earnest of aid, and promises more, 134; appoints a government, 140; jealous and arbitrary disposition of, 143; character and reign, 143; humiliation, 260; unhappy policy with regard to Canada, 264-268; mistaken concern for the hatters of Paris, 265; greatest mistake, 267; greatness of, 267, 268; the two objects of his colonial policy, 268; death and last confession, 268.
Louisbourg, strong fortification, 263; surrender to the English, 278; failures to retake, 278, 279; restoration to France, 281; siege and final capture, 333, 334.

Magdalen Islands, discovery of, 3.
Maisonneuve, M. de, magnanimous reply, 107; devotion, 108; prudence and cool courage, 109; forced retirement of, 111; disinterestedness of, 111; example of, 111; anecdote of, 112; Ville Marie, consecration of, 107.
Manee, M. devotion of, 107, 108.
Manufactures, rise of, 170; veto upon, 178.
Mesy, M. de, governorship of, 151; vigorous government, 151; collision with Laval and the majority of the council, 152; arbitrary and violent proceeding, 153; appeal to the people, 153; charges against, 153; preparations to impeach, and death, 154.
Mines, encouragement to, 178.
Missions, Catholic, influence on the history of the colony, 47; the encouragement, 55; Shea's History of American, 48, 114; new extensions, 62; embarrassments, 64; fresh aid to, 67; royal favour shown to, 68; English concession to, 74; extension of, 106.
Mississippi, account of the discovery and exploration of, 186, 187; original name of, 187; discoverer's description of the region of, 188; first thorough navigation of, 188.
Mohawks. *See* Iroquois.
Montcalm, General, arrival, antecedents, and character of, 315; colleagues, 315; catalogue of discouragements at the outset of his military rule, 316; dispositions of troops, 317; capture of Fort Oswego, 317, 318; consequent popularity, 317; concession to bloodthirsty instincts of the Indians, 318, 323; opinion of the Canadians, 318; vivacity, 319; concentration upon Carillon and Crown Point, 320; programme for 1757, 321; siege and capture of Fort George, 323-329; repulse of a formidable attack on Carillon, 338, 339; estimate of the weakness of his position at Carillon, 340; his policy henceforth, 341; instructions from headquarters, 345; devotion, 346; distrust of Vaudreuil, 347; forebodings, 353; disgust, 354; last hope, 354; distinguished officers, 376; defensive policy at Quebec, 391; mistaken security, 400; surprise, 406; resolve to give battle, 407; reasons for real and alleged, 407; number of his army, 408; its disposition, 409; its sudden check and rout, 411; fall of, 412; his losses, 412; last sayings, 414; burying place, 414, 415; coffin, 415; skull, 415.
Montmagny, M., governorship of, 104-112; double object of, 104; Indian surname, 104; ill successes, and hazardous situation, 105; character and services of, 119, 120; respect for the memory of, 120.
Montmorency, Duke of, vice-royalty, 58; retirement, 66.
Montreal, origin of the name, 11, 15; French trading-station, 27; origin of the city, 43; establishment of La Compagnie de Montreal, 106; rapid growth, 111; population in 1672, 111, 181; barbarous onslaught of the Iroquois upon, 202; English expedition against, 214; fortification of, 269, 296; population in 1722, final expedition against, 461-472; capitulation, 473, 474.
Monts, M. de, first visit to Canada, 31; character and appointment as lieut.-general, 33; expedition to Canada under, 34; renewal of charter, 10, 35; discouragements and retirement, 42, 43.
Murray, General, first English governor of Quebec, 429; difficulties as to fuel, 430, 431; spirit of his troops, 432; regulations as to prices of food, 434; intimidation of the enemy, 434; treatment of the inhabitants, 435, 436; expulsion by, of Jesuits, 438; criminal jurisprudence, 439; vigilant military measures; 440; kept in alarm by the French, 441; orders misapprehended, 441; severity with the French colonists,

442; takes and fortifies Point Levi, 443; ruse to revive the spirits of his men, 446; preparations against De Levis' attack, 447; journal, 450; imprudent hazard of battle, 451; narrative of battle of Ste Foye, 451-454; manifesto, 454; sullen despondent spirit of his troops, 455; re-assurance, 456; message to the fleet, 456; expedition up St Lawrence, 459; expedition against Montreal, 463; military rule of Canada, 476.

NATIONS, Five. *See* the Iroquois; Six, 261.
Newfoundland, early cod fisheries, xix.; Cartier's comparative estimate of, 3; M. de Roberval, first French viceroy of, 18.
New France. *See* Canada. Colonisation of, 35. *See* Nova Scotia.
Newspaper, first, Canadian, 281.
Nova Scotia, De Mont's preference for, 34; cession to England by France, 261; English expedition against the French in, 301-304; resistance on the part of the French to English rule on religious grounds, 301, 302; dilemma of the English in regard to, 302; expulsion and hardships of French colonists, 303, 304; resulting desolation, 304; character of French settlers in, 302, 304.
Nuns, Ursuline, establishment of, 101; contentedness, 102.

OATH of neutrality, 463.
Oneidas. *See* Iroquois.
Onondagas. *See* Iroquois.
Orders, religious, laws to limit the acquisition of property by, 253.
Oswego, Fort, fall of, 318; its effect on French influence with natives, 320.
Ottawa, discovery of, 45; traversed as far as 46° 20′ north latitude, 48.

PELTRIE, Mad. de la, arrival of, 106; devotion, 106, 107, 176; connections and personal attractions, 176; influence upon colonial manners, 177.
Perrot, Nicolas, character and antecedents, 228; knowledge of and influence with the Indians, 228, 229; services to the colony, 229; good offices of, 246, 250.
Perrots, the, notice of, 184.
Pestilence, ravages of, 147, 148.
Phipps, Sir W. squadron, 214, 216; summons, 216; flag, 217; attacks on Quebec, 217, 218; discomfiture, 219; death, 219.
Pitt, William, anti-French policy, 312; vigorous measures, 332.
Plantations. *See* Colonies.
Portuguese, discoveries of, xvii.; effects of their example on maritime enterprise, xviii.

QUEBEC, origin of, 9-15; French trading-station at, 27; rude beginnings, 36; population in 1616, 56; early troubles, 56, 57, 69; projected fortification, 59; made capital of Canada, 59; famine in 1626, 71; blockade of, and demand to surrender by the English, 72; surrender, 74; foundation of college at, 83; registers first kept in, 101; first baptism in, 101; first wedding in, 101; jealousy of Montreal, 111; births in 1670, 1671, 180; growth into a city, 180; great fire in, 191; preparations at, against the English, 216-219; summons of to surrender, 216; successful resistance of, 218, 219; state of during siege, 220; additions to the defences of, 227, 269; population in 1722, 271; society of, in 1720, 273, 274; scarcity in, 313; armament against, under Saunders and Wolfe, 363-365; operations for defence, 366-369; distribution of forces, 370; arrival of the English, 371; futile attempt to fire the English fleet and disturb the siege operations, 377, 379; effect of the bombardment on buildings, 379; virtual destruction, 379; alleged unjustifiable outrages and devastation in the fields round by the English, 386-390; Saunders and Wolfe's opinion of the defences, 391; desperate condition, 394-397; prosecution of the siege, 416; surrender, 420; terms of capitulation, 420; occupation by the English, 421; hardships from want of fuel after fall, 430; sufferings of English garrison, 432; grotesque appearance of garrison on parade, 433; sufferings of English garrison, 445; abortive attempt of the French to retake, 456-458; joy of the English garrison on the appearance of relief, 457; siege raised, 458, 459.

RACE ANTIPATHIES, strength of, 25.
Rangers, Wolfe's, bush-fighting and scalping practice, 373.
Rapids, the, discovery, 32; original name, 32; Champlain visits and passes, 44; General Amherst's expedition and the, 469; disasters to Amherst's army in, 470.
Registers of births, &c., institution of, 171.
Relations des Jesuistes, 81; value of, 82; dates, 82; authors, 82; history as documents, 82; effect of the publication, 92, 93; references, 118, 120, 126, 128, 129, 133, 148, 167.
Repentigny, Madame, patriotic inventions, 265.
Residences, establishment of, 92; sites of, 92.
Richelieu, founds a new colonial company, 75; favours the Jesuits, 77.
Roberval, M. de, appointment as first French colonial Governor of Canada, 18; failure to found a colony, 22; loss at sea in a second attempt, 23.
Roche, Marquis de la, failure to found a French colony in Canada, 26.
Rocky Mountains, 276.
Ryswick, Treaty of, 241.

Sable Island, convict colony at, 26; fate of the first colonists, 26.
Sagard, Gabriel, services in promoting peace among the native Indians, 62; league with the Jesuits, 67.
Salle, La, first navigator of the Mississippi, 188, 193; his establishment of forts and trading-posts, 188, 189; death, 193.
Saunders, Admiral, appointment to command naval squadron against Quebec, 358; distinguished subordinates, 376.
Scurvy, symptoms and effects of, 13; Indian antidote for, 14; ravages of, 14, 37, 56, 181, 261.
Seminary, the Jesuit, at Quebec, institution of, 137; attendance, 180; transformation of, 196.
Senecas. See Iroquois.
Settlers, the first, in America, quarrels and jealousies, 99; injudicious conduct towards natives, 99; conflicting claims, 100.
Sillery, M. de, benefactions of, 106.
Simon le Moyne, self-sacrifice of, 133.
Shenectady, massacre of, 209.
Slate, importation of, 60.
Small-pox, ravages of, 181, 201.
Soldiers, English, horror of the Indians, 323.
Spain and Portugal, pretensions, 21.
Spaniards, treachery and cruelty of the, 25.
Stadacona, French station at, 9; visited by Champlain, 32.
St Lawrence, the, discovery of, 7, 9, 15; forests on the banks, 20.
St Sulpice, the order of, foundation of, in Montreal, 111.

Tadoussac, first French trading settlement at, 27; second settlement at, 31.
Taieronk, chief of the Hurons, speech of, 122.
Talon, Intendant, arrival of, 155; co-operation with De Tracy, 170; services to the colony, 177-180; boast of, 178; character, 179.
Three Rivers, trading-post at, 27-31; conspiracy at, 58.
Tithes, imposition of, 138; changes in the rating, 138; popular resistance, 152; acceptable adjustment, 155.
Toast, British, 364.
Tourmente, Captain, the hay-field of, 69.
Trade, early, with Canada, 24; in skins and furs, 27-29; settlements for, 27; extent and value of the peltry, 80; in beavers' skins, 126; dependent on the friendly or unfriendly relations with Iroquois, 126; export, 170; import, 170.
Trade, free, effects of, 43; infant struggles of, 44.
Traffic, liquor, preventive measure by Champlain, 138; English encouragement to, 138; increase of, 138; dissensions arising out of, 138, 139; demoralising effects on the Indians, 139-148; dissensions about, 184; inquiry into, and decision regarding, 185.
Tracy, M. de, appointment as viceroy, 154; arrival of, 154; vigorous measures against the Iroquois, 155-160; courage, 160; expedition against the Iroquois, 160-166; colonial management, 169-171; return to France, 171.

Utrecht, Treaty of, 258.

Vallier, M. de St, installation as bishop, 196.
Vaudreuil, M. de, governorship, 254-272; impolicy with the English colonists, 256; wife, 262; anti-English policy, 269; internal policy, 269; death, 272.
Vaudreuil, M. de (the younger), governorship, 297; opinion of the Canadians, and their treatment by the regulars, 319; military project for 1757, 321; opinion of Montcalm, 347; culpable partiality, 351; manifesto of, 357; conduct at the surrender of Quebec, 417, 418; conduct at Montreal, 472, 473.
Ventadour, Duc de, becomes viceroy, 66; forwards the mission of Le Caron and Sagard, 66.
Verrazzani, mission of, xlx.

Washington, appointment of, to defend British soil against French pretensions, 288; mistaken conflict with the French, 288, 289; defence, 289; charge against, of murder and assassination, 289; capitulation to the French, 290; rear-guard in a retreat, 307.
West Indian Company, charter, 169, 170; dissolution, 170.
Wolfe, General, conduct at siege of Louisbourg, 334; character and antecedents, 363, 364; exclusive respect for courage and drill, 365; manifesto in name of King of England, 371, 372; disposition of troops against Quebec, 372-375; failure to provoke Montcalm to general action, 380-385; defeat at Beauport Flats, 384, 385; censure of the rashness of the grenadiers, 386; attempt to stain the memory of, 388; abandonment of the idea of attempting to land above the city, 392; resolution to force an action, 397; illness, 397; report of this decision and his death published together in England, 397; occupation of Fort Levi, a preparation to transport all the troops to north side, 399; superintendence of transportation, 400; disguised movements, 400-403; general order of, Sept. 11, 401, 402; landing on north shore, Sept. 13, 403; secure position, 404; choice of battle-ground, 404; number and quality of his army, 409; its disposition, 409, 410; victory of, 411; fall of, 412; last words, 413; monuments to the memory of, 424.
Women, services and consequent emancipation of, by France, 221, 222; English, in winter quarters, 433.

00035563

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 18 July, 2018